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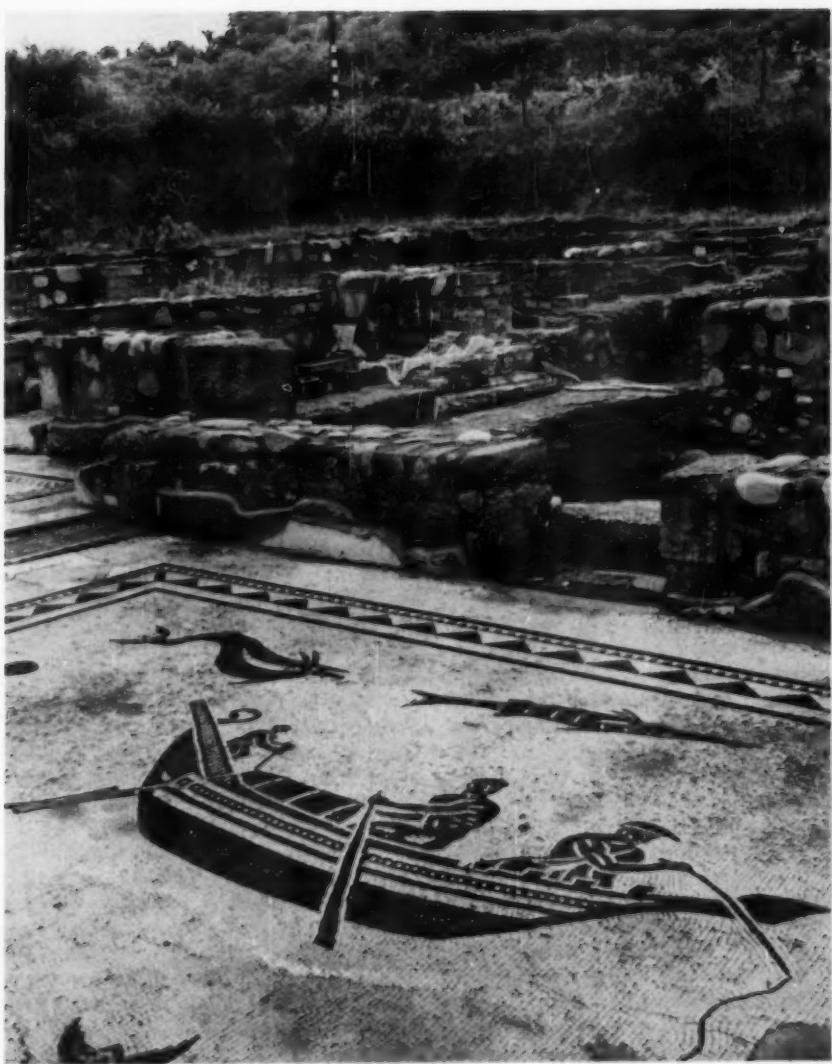
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photograph from the Fototeca di Architettura e Topografia dell'Italia Antica

Castroreale Terme, Sicily; Roman villa, bath

*The fifth article in a special series on  
Issues and Personalities of Late Antiquity*

## THE THRONE AND THE MOUNTAIN: AN ESSAY ON ST. GREGORY NAZIANZUS

BROOKS OTIS

ONLY A VERY FEW Western scholars and ecclesiastics now pay much attention to Gregory Nazianzus, the great Cappadocian saint and orator of the fourth Christian century. He is largely unknown to the general public: there are a few rather stilted translations of his letters and speeches (now mostly out of print) and no available English version of his most distinctive and personal work — his autobiographical poetry.<sup>1</sup> Yet he stands with St. Augustine and with no other of his period, as a personality still accessible to us — a personality fresh, vivid and utterly human. For there are certain men who have managed to exercise an almost inexplicable spell on later generations because they have revealed themselves — the very shape and pressure of their personalities — in autobiographical or confessional works. Others in comparison remain mere names: these live and speak to us. To

this small category which includes Newman and St. Augustine — and in a rather different way Dr. Johnson — Gregory Nazianzus also belongs.

Yet, manifestly, there are difficulties to be overcome before we — those of us at least who live in the West and inherit a Latinized culture — can get to the man and his works. Professional classicists are still rather uninterested in the post-classical period: theologians and patristic scholars — those who actually try to read the formidable *Patrologia Graeca* of Migne — are rather narrowly concerned with doctrine and ecclesiastical history. Then there is still a gulf fixed between the Latin West and the Greek East: no more than in the fourth century itself, does a Western mind feel itself really at home in Constantinople, Antioch or Alexandria.

But the loss, after all, is ours. Nazianzus can take us, if we will let him, to the very heart of the fourth century, in some ways the most interesting of ancient centuries and the most relevant to our own. In the third century

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See volume 54 (1959) 145-59, 213-20;  
volume 55 (1960) 146-50, 290-312.

the Roman Empire had almost collapsed: a series of great emperors—above all Diocletian—had restored it to a far greater extent than is popularly supposed. Physically the fourth century was one of enormous construction: the greatest and most imposing ruins of Rome are the baths of Diocletian and the basilica which Maxentius began and Constantine finished. And in the East, on the site of Byzantium, a whole "new Rome" was built, rivaling the old in size and grandeur. Not until Valens' fatal defeat at Adrianople (378) were the barbarians an overt threat: even then Theodosius managed to restore an uneasy *status quo*. The peace, we can now see, was only a truce: the West was soon to witness the terrible siege of Rome in 410 and the collapse of West Roman power shortly after. Meantime, however, leisured and educated pagans managed to maintain every appearance of culture: Rome, Antioch, Alexandria were still great and imposing cities with famous sophists and philosophers; the schools of Athens flourished; orators like Libanius and Himerius were thought to have equalled the eloquence of Demosthenes and Isocrates; the Emperor Julian and the Roman patricians, Symmachus and Praetextatus, dreamed of a great revival of paganism established on a firm foundation of Neoplatonic philosophy.

All this, however, was a rather sterile continuation of the past. Constantine had changed the world, and the Christian "New Rome" was the great, physical symbol of the change; Julian's paganism was but a feeble and romantic reaction to the Christian tide. Everywhere the signs of Christian triumph were ostentatiously evident. The hidden chapels of the era of persecution had been replaced by vast new basilicas; Christian bishops asserted a power of which no previous religious authorities had dared to dream. Ambrose at Milan,

Basil at Cappadocian Caesarea, above all Athanasius of Alexandria, were men who made no compromise and eventually triumphed over every kind of imperial opposition. The vitality of fourth-century Christianity is apparent to anybody who will turn from the sterile letters of Symmachus or the imitative orations of Libanius to the voluminous and energetic productions of Augustine, Ambrose and Jerome in Latin or of Athanasius, Basil and Chrysostom in Greek. On the one side was, as Nazianzus said, a shadowy nothingness, a harping on Marathon, Salamis and Pericles: on the other, the eloquence of a living faith.

And yet this obvious contrast of pagan decadence and Christian vitality is deceptive. In one sense the battle with paganism had been won: Symmachus was no match for Ambrose; Libanius a rather obsequious postulant for Basil's charity; Julian, however much he might be magnified as a "persecutor," nothing remotely like Decius or Diocletian. But the true struggle with pagan culture went on inside the Christian community itself. In englobing, as it were, the whole Empire as its official religion, Christianity had absorbed a host of highly unchristian elements which it now had to assimilate or reject: this was the great problem of the fourth century besides which the problem of overt paganism was quite insignificant.

There were really three great issues here involved though they may perhaps be more justly thought of as three aspects of the general issue just mentioned. First of all there was the *issue of the World* — of the whole Roman-Hellenic society which Christians had once repudiated or ignored and for which they now had to assume responsibility. How were Christian emperors and officials to govern? What was to be demanded of the average Christian

who now found his religion a worldly advantage rather than a sacrifice? How was the Church itself to be kept from becoming a political machine on the secular model? The conversion of Constantine was, in one sense, the Martyrs' dream: it seemed to lead only to the careerists' paradise.

Then there was the *intellectual-theological issue*. In the second and third centuries the Church had won its terrible battle with the Gnostics but only at the price of accepting a good deal of secular philosophy. It seemed for a while that the great system of Origen (the most remarkable intellectual achievement of the anti-gnostic struggle) could be easily pruned of its more heterodox features. The result of such pruning, however, was a profound inconsistency to which Arius applied a drastic but logical solution that was countered, on the other side, by the equally drastic doctrines of Marcellus of Ancyra, Apollinaris and others. The very heart of Christianity — the reality of the One, Infinite God — was in jeopardy, and for long there seemed to be no *via media* between the heretical extremes. It was too late to go back to the Bible and eschew Plato, Aristotle and all their works: metaphysical questions had been raised and had to be met on a metaphysical level. Until this was accomplished, Christianity was in constant danger of becoming just another Hellenistic philosophy. Meantime a large portion of Christianity (including particularly the Goths) and a succession of Eastern Emperors (and one sole Emperor) had taken the Arian side.

Finally there was the *issue of Christian Culture*. It was easy for a minority of persecuted or barely tolerated Christians to talk boldly of a root-and-branch repudiation of all pagan literature, art and culture. Even they could not practise what they preached. Now the pagan

culture lay, so to speak, in Christian hands. What was to be done with it? How could pagan oratory, poetry, art and manners be truly Christianized? What of the schools and universities? Was there to be a Christian *humanism*, a Christian *philosophy* which could take the place of their Ciceronian and Platonic predecessors? The problem was indeed no minor one, since in fact the leading Christians of the age were steeped in pagan learning and were constantly compelled to use it in the interest of orthodox Christianity itself.

The great significance of Nazianzus lies in his direct and central relation to each of these issues. As the man whom Greeks still call so proudly *the Theologian*, he was the great champion of orthodoxy against Arianism. As the foremost orator of his time and as the leading Christian poet, he was, more than most others, concerned with problems of literature and culture. Finally, even more, I think, than any of his contemporaries, he was personally involved in the problem of Christian worldliness. Nor is this all. He was aware of how each of these issues affects the other two and was continually searching for a synthesis — seeking how to be a theologian, orator, active bishop and monk without letting any one of these roles destroy his full Christian integrity. What other men kept, so to speak, in compartments, he constantly interrelated and tried to synthesize but not from any hope or wish for mere harmony: the effort was a struggle, a very human struggle, often marked by weakness and failure, often full of anguish and suffering, ever taken up into his innermost soul for reflection and self-dialogue, yet pursued nonetheless with an astonishing single-mindedness. It is this inner struggle for synthesis — of which we have his own autobiographical account — that makes him so interest-

ing and casts such a bright light on his century. In him we see, as it were, the personal reflection of all the major forces at work in his time.

The key, I think, to his life—so far, that is, as we can properly speak of a key to any man's life—is the antithesis I have expressed in the title of this paper—"the throne and the mountain." On the one side was what appeared to his friends and colleagues as his obvious destiny and role—the episcopal throne. Theodosius and the Ecumenical Council of 381 in proclaiming him Archbishop of Constantinople, undoubtedly thought of him as the one obvious choice for that office of orthodox leadership which he had in fact already exercised. But Gregory thought differently. As against the throne—the busy life of an Archbishop—he longed for and returned to the *mountain*, the height on which he, like Moses, could enter the cloud and see not God's face but God's back—the divine mysteries which finite man can never reach but can always approach in that infinite search which was, to Gregory, the blessed life. Similarly, there is a corresponding pattern of world-affirmation and world-rejection in his attitude toward his great art, oratory or rhetoric. The speaker of so many words was, out of the pulpit or off the platform, a man of silence and quiet; the more he won fame and applause for his eloquence, the more he was moved to retire from it all. Finally as a theologian, an intellectual, he was constantly oscillating between metaphysical understanding or comprehension and the sense of the incomprehensible, the non-intellectualizable that can be grasped only in humble contemplation—on the mountain, so to speak, and in the cloud.

He was, like Basil the Great and Basil's brother Gregory Nyssa, a Cappadocian, of the small town of

Nazianzus.<sup>2</sup> The Cappadocian region, despite its earlier unfavorable reputation, had been Hellenized and Christianized and was, as Nazianzus tells us, commonly allowed to be a "bulwark of the faith." Actually central Asia Minor was probably, at this time, the most devotedly Christian area of the Empire: St. Paul, as we all know, had seen to that; later a native son, Gregory Thaumaturgus, has especially seen to the conversion of Cappadocia. But it still had a considerable pagan as well as non-Hellenized population during Gregory's lifetime.

Gregory's father (also Gregory) had been one of the so-called *Hypsistoi* (a sect blended of Jewish and pagan sources), but his mother, Nonna, was a militant Christian. By her influence Gregory the Elder was converted and baptized in his 45th year of age, in 325 A.D., the year of Nicaea. Four years later he was made Bishop of Nazianzus though he was not even a priest. Such elections were not uncommon at that time, as we shall see. And very likely in the same year (329) Gregory Nazianzus was born. With a bishop for a father and a devotee for mother, he could not be said to lack Christian examples in the home. Nor did he lack the means of a good education. Financially the family was well off: Gregory's father possessed a fair estate near Nazianzus.

His childhood is interesting as in it the main lines of his life seem to have been clearly laid down. His parents were undoubtedly people of marked piety, his mother especially so. They were also exceedingly strong characters as we shall see. Nonna for long had no children: she prayed ardently for one and resolved, if it came, to dedicate it, like Samuel, to the Lord. Gregory speaks of his birth as follows (my translation is inelegant but reasonably close to the Greek):<sup>3</sup>

So came I then into this life below  
 Molded of mire—ah me—of that low synthesis  
 That dominates us or scarce yields to our control.  
 But still I take it as a pledge of what is best—  
 My very birth! No right have I to carp.  
 But at my birth, I straight became an alien  
*In alienation best.* For unto God  
 I'm given as some lamb, some sacrificial calf,  
 Offering noble and adorned with mind.  
 I'd scarcely want to say: "like a young Samuel"  
 Unless I think of them who vowed me so.

We can see here one of the major determinants of Gregory's life: the opposition of soul and body ("that low synthesis") and his sense of spiritual alienation from the body and from the world. With this, undoubtedly, Nonna's vow had something to do, but the idea was also part of his earliest world-view—a world-view both Platonic and Christian. His upbringing was anything but frivolous. He speaks of assuming as a child "a certain gravity of age," of reading religious books and mixing with "men the best in character." And then came the great experience. He was still a child (perhaps 10 or 12) but he speaks of the episode even in his "epitaphs" as a decisive one (*Poemata de se ipso* 93, 95, 98).

It is not wholly clear what this experience was. In his long *Poem on His Own Life* (11) he refers to it as the "wonders God showed him" but decides, after some hesitation, to preserve silence about it. But in his earlier *Poem on the Calamities of his Soul* (45) he describes in considerable detail a night vision which is apparently identical with the "wonders" just referred to.<sup>4</sup>

In this he represents himself as seeing in a dream two wonderful virgins: their beauty was of the "unadorned" kind—no gold necklaces or flowers, no silk or soft linen, no painted eyebrows, no curling yellow ringlets, no artful embellishment of any sort—but instead

ample skirts, going right down to their feet, thick veils and modest blushes. They were of course Chastity and Temperance, and they bade the young Gregory join them and take his proper station by the "Trinity's deathless light." Then they went away leaving with him a firm inclination to the life of Chastity. Or so he says.

The vision strikes us today as stagey, even bookish. His detailed insistence on the modesty of Chastity's dress does not put us in a mood of spiritual receptivity. Could this possibly be a real experience? I am inclined to think that it has at least been refurbished for the elegiac meter in which it is told. Gregory's real vision was perhaps less precise and allegorical, and perhaps, as he intimates in his other poem, kept secret from the public. Yet there is no doubt that he thought of Chastity as an essential part of his ideal of life—the life of "excellent alienation." The urge to reject the flesh and leave the world was strong in him.

With this ideal—which was essentially the monastic ideal—the sacerdotal or priestly office conflicted vehemently, as Gregory saw it. There can be no doubt that his mother, Nonna, interpreted her "vow" as a promise to make Gregory a priest, not a monk. His father most energetically shared the same opinion (*Funebris in patrem* 37).<sup>5</sup> At this time the celibacy of the secular clergy was but an ideal, even in the Latin West. But the cleavage of theory and practice between East and West or between the Greek and Latin churches had already begun. The norm toward which the Greeks were then tending was substantially that of later Greek practice: a married priesthood but an unmarried episcopate chosen usually from the monks. This expressed, in a way, the gap between the "world" or "flesh" and the "spirit" as well as their partial reconciliation.

In Gregory's day, as to some extent afterward, the bishop was a man torn between two worlds. At any rate the tension between the life of the regular and that of the secular clergy was singularly acute. But in the fourth century the Church had not yet worked out a final solution in either East or West. The question of celibacy was here indubitably connected with the question of worldliness: could priests and bishops, living as they must in the world, avoid the compromises and pressures of a still imperfectly Christian society? Monasticism was the fourth-century reaction to such pressures: but was it right for a Christian simply to withdraw and mainly try to save his own soul? And if the monk's "work" was not "selfish" in this sense, in what respect was it "unselfish"? I am not suggesting here that the answers are obvious or simple: I am merely pointing to Gregory's problem.<sup>6</sup>

At any rate Gregory underwent, first, a normal "rhetorical" education both at Caesarea, the Cappadocian capital, and at Alexandria, but mainly at the great rhetorical and cultural center, Athens. He studied there in all probability from about 350 (when he was 20 or so) to 360 (his thirtieth year, as he tells us). Yet his very voyage to Athens was accompanied by another "experience" of decisive bearing on his ultimate career. A great storm came up: all on board were acutely apprehensive for their lives, but Gregory was mainly overwhelmed by the danger of dying unbaptized:<sup>7</sup>

But of them all that feared a common death,  
The hidden death was far more terrible to me.  
For from the cleansing waters that deify,  
Alienated was I by the murderous waters round.  
Such was my lamentation, such my circumstance.

He cried out in his extreme agony:<sup>8</sup>

"Thine am I," I cried, "both before and now  
Twice so you've saved me, precious goods  
of thine,  
Earth's and the sea's gift, hallowed by the  
prayer  
Of mother and by mine own violent fear.  
For thee I'll live, 'scape I this double  
death."

His situation and response call to mind Luther in the thunderstorm. Yet why was he unbaptized? The custom of deferring baptism was of course widespread in that age but Gregory's home and training hardly prepare us for its neglect in his case. It would seem at least possible that Gregory himself took as "perfectionist" a view of the baptized as he took later of the ordained Christian. In any event, he had once more reaffirmed his status as one dedicated to the Lord. But:<sup>9</sup>

Then came Athens and the books. Let others talk  
Of how I lived there in God's reverence,  
First of the first in knowledge.

His ten years at Athens were obviously a period of wonderful progress. As he describes it we catch a glimpse of fourth-century university life, in some ways curiously like our own or rather like our own of a generation ago: the revered professors, the tremendous rivalry of their student supporters, the hazing of newcomers, the clubs and the camaraderie. It was at Athens that he lived with his fellow Cappadocian Basil and shared with him an unparalleled friendship: we can gather that Basil, slightly the elder, was the seminal mind, the leader; Gregory, the more brilliant student and orator. Their life was (he tells us) conducted on ascetic or "monkish" principles, but it was obviously also one shared with a host of student-friends. Gregory was a greatly beloved person — a veritable favorite of high and low and in no sense a man separated from his fellow students by any self-

righteousness or Pharisaism. There is much of the atmosphere of his Attic days in this vivid account of Basil's departure from Athens and of his own inability to depart:<sup>10</sup>

What lacked I? My country, a plan of life!  
For long the time I'd spent among my books;  
Already I had reached my thirtieth year.  
And, then, I knew the love there was for me,  
The reputation I had among my fellows!  
The time was come: much grief there came with it;  
Needs must there be embraces numerous and bitter words,  
Words of farewell, enthusiastic memories.  
To Basil, though by force and most reluctantly,  
They yielded: many the reasons for his going home.  
To me the tears come even at this present time,  
When I recall the tumult of that parting then:  
All came about me with a sudden rush  
Strangers, comrades, students and professors,  
With oaths, with tears, with something too of force  
(For love persuaded even rashness such as that)  
They violently held me back. Come what may, they said,  
They would not let me go. It was no proper thing  
For Athens to give up the honor of my presence,  
Me to whom they'd give the primacy of letters.  
And so I yielded. For only a stout oak  
Could then withstand entreaties such as those.

Obviously Gregory had a reputation at Athens: obviously he had proved an apt pupil of such rhetors as Himerius and Prohaeresius. Obviously, also, the glamor of the fourth-century oratory had cast its spell upon him: the applause, admiration, almost worship which was then bestowed on a Libanius or a Themistius could have also been his. But when, shortly after, he did come home and demonstrate his rhetorical prowess to his Cappadocian friends, he was by no means satisfied: not only

the artificiality of the means but the poverty of the result—the somewhat sophomoric worldliness of the then fashionable bravura oratory brought back in a rush a quite different ideal of life:<sup>11</sup>

I came home and my eloquence displayed.  
Assuaging their itch to hear me, as one pays a debt.  
For I took no account of the applause and noise,  
Nor of the oratorical tricks and twists,  
That the "wise" love to use on a young audience.  
But I put first the *Philosophical Life*—  
To throw all else aside for God—even literature,  
As those who give their lands to grazing sheep,  
Or gather up their gold and throw it in the sea.

But the *Philosophical Life*—by which Gregory meant the new monastic life—was not the life his parents planned for him. Basil had come home after thorough investigation of Egypt—the source and focus of the new monastic and ascetic movement—and had founded his own monastic retreat in a beautiful valley at Annesoi in Pontus. He tells Gregory of it in a wonderful letter (14) and urged him to join him there in the life of devotion, asceticism and study (cf. Basil, *Letters 2*). But Gregory the Elder, now 75 or more, counted on his son to succeed him as Bishop: so did Nonna. The great struggle of Nazianzus' life had begun:<sup>12</sup>

I revered the bishop's throne but from afar,  
As weak eyes look upon the light of the sun.  
Anything rather would I have than that,  
Than a life lived in the world's eddying turbulence.

But his father had a will of iron (his mother also) and he was made (presumably about 361) a priest, willy-nilly. His immediate reaction was to flee, post-haste, to Basil's monastery. He thus later recalled the episode and his father's part in it:<sup>13</sup>

And I so suffered from his *tyranny*,  
 (For not yet can I otherwise describe it:  
 May the Holy Spirit pardon my state of  
 mind!)  
 That on a sudden out from all my friends,  
 My parents, country, relatives I broke,  
 Like a steer bitten by the stinging fly,  
 And came to Pontus, giving myself as med-  
 icine of grief  
 A god-intoxicated friend: for there hidden  
*In a cloud like to an ancient sage*  
 He exercised companionship with God:  
 Basil he was who is with angels now.  
 With him I soothed my bitterness of mind.

The escape did not last long: in a few months Gregory was back at Nazianzus to take up his work in his father's church. The discourse in which he explained the episode to the congregation (*Oration 1, In Reference to His Flight to Pontus*) is a tantalizing document: his excuse is, in brief, his sense of his own inadequacy to the demands of the priesthood. He says that no man should be appointed "head of the fullness of Christ" if he had not by experience and contemplation acquired the "hidden wisdom" of God—in short achieved a very considerable degree of mystical progress.

Here Gregory sets the priestly ideal so high, that it seems to be beyond the power of anyone but a saint. In fact the secular priesthood of his time and place seemed to him an exceedingly worldly affair. Even in his *Father's Funeral Eulogy* (which he pronounced a dozen or more years later in 374) he cannot withhold his sharp criticism of both parents for their forcing him into orders:<sup>14</sup>

I blame you both [he is addressing his parents directly]—don't be angry at my plain speaking: I must express my bitterness, disagreeable as it may be—because when I was much tried in the evils of this life and longed for solitude, as no one else of my time, and strove with all possible speed to get away from all this public storm and dust and find some safety for myself, you, somehow or other, betrayed me in the glorious name of the priesthood to this mean and treacherous market-place of souls.

One can see the terrific antithesis in

Gregory's mind between the actuality of the priesthood and the true religious life.

Ten years later, much the same sequence of events occurred but in a far more drastic way. This was the Sasima affair (372). Basil had been made bishop of Caesarea in 370, and soon became the most influential and important bishop of the time. He was the undisputed orthodox leader of the East in the anti-Arian struggle: he was the great champion of Christian unity and, especially, of unity with the West. But he did not acquire prestige and power without the political skills and interests that usually go with these things.

One special problem he confronted was the attempt of the Arian Emperor, Valens, to divide his archdiocese and set up a second capital and see-city to rival Caesarea. Basil reacted to this threat by trying to retain as many bishoprics as possible and even to occupy sees in the newly created "Second Cappadocia." Sasima (one of these) was in fact a wretched village but it had a strategic cross-roads location and was, almost in a military sense, a primary "objective" of both sides. It could only be held by brute force since Anthimus the opposing bishop was determined to keep it, including even its donkeys (over which a brawl had already developed). It was into this "see" that the mild Gregory was forced through the combined efforts of Basil and his own father. Here, as in the matter of his priesthood, he vacillated: at one time he reluctantly accepted (*Oration 10*); later, he completely refused to go near Sasima. It seemed of course the death knell of all his hopes for monastic retirement after his father's death. His father's attitude he knew but he was thunderstruck by what Basil had done.<sup>15</sup>

But then the dearest to me of all my friends

Basil (alas, for my words: yet, nonetheless,  
I'll speak)  
Became another father, harsher still by  
far,  
For I must needs endure my father's ty-  
ranny,  
But not a friend's, when his friendship  
brings with it  
Damage, not respite from one's troubles.  
I know not in my mind which more to  
blame,  
My sins that oft have gnawed upon my soul  
—So boils ever freshly all that happened  
then—  
Or the swollen pride, oh excellent of men,  
Your *throne* aroused in you.

And then with bitter sarcasm (he is  
still addressing Basil and referring to  
Basil's taunt of "weakness"):<sup>16</sup>

Ask me if you wish for a different kind of  
virtue,  
Only explain it to those more wise than  
me!  
Our life at Athens, our common studies  
there,  
The room, the meals we shared together  
then,  
Our unity of mind—Greece marveled at  
the thing—  
Our oath to throw the world behind us far,  
To live together for God and consecrate  
Our words of eloquence to the only Word  
that's wise—  
All, all are scattered, ripped and hurled  
upon the ground  
And the winds carry off our ancient hopes.

Most of the authorities — e.g., Tille-  
mont, Gallay — blame Basil for this ep-  
isode: indeed his action, at the very  
lowest estimate, revealed an almost in-  
credible misunderstanding of Gregory's  
character. It is difficult to maintain on  
the evidence we have that the Sasima  
bishopric was a very vital one on any  
reckoning. Basil seems in fact to have  
tried to use Gregory in a minor and  
rather petty piece of ecclesiastical poli-  
tics. Yet it is also hard to defend all  
Gregory's conduct in the affair. Those  
were the times when bishops were cre-  
ated with indecent haste and no small  
show of force (consider the case of Am-  
brose!) but Gregory, in any event,  
seems to have lacked the courage to  
resist strong pressure. As before, he

vacillated and, in the end, decided the  
matter by inaction rather than by clean  
initiative.

But there is much more here than a  
dispute between an ambitious bishop  
and a timid scholar and contemplative.  
Had Gregory been merely a monk, a  
student or a dreamy recluse, there  
would have been no question of forcing  
him into an episcopal throne. But he  
was also a brilliant orator, a man who  
could move other men more than any  
speaker of his time. Furthermore he  
was keenly aware of the theological is-  
sue and of its exigency: he not only  
knew and approved of Basil's anti-Arian  
diplomacy; he had been himself a  
prime agent in Basil's election, himself  
an obvious power on the orthodox side.  
Sasima was no place for him even on a  
practical or strategic reckoning: but  
while Basil and his parents and Greg-  
ory himself were thinking in terms of  
Cappadocian bishoprics, there were  
others in the East who took a much  
greater and broader view of his capa-  
bilities.

And what in fact was the right course  
for a man who had a clear vocation  
for the cloister as well as for the  
throne? Was the Christianity of the  
time best to be defended by rejecting  
the violent and corrupt ecclesiastical  
"world" or by working within it for its  
improvement? Gregory may have been  
weak but there was more than weak-  
ness in his vacillations. He saw, what  
Basil and his parents did not see: the  
peril of a Church which involved even  
its churchmen in a desperate worldli-  
ness. He wrote to Basil at the time:<sup>17</sup>

You accuse me of sloth and slackness be-  
cause I have not occupied Sasima nor kept  
myself in a state of episcopal commotion  
nor acted as a weapon in your episcopal  
fights like a morsel of food tossed among  
dogs. But my chief business is leisure. And,  
to give you an idea of one of my merits,  
let me say that I am so proud of my leisure  
that I deem myself a universal pattern of  
the greatness of spirit which comes from

it. Furthermore if all imitated me, there would be none of this troublesome business in the churches nor would the faith be hacked about as a weapon in private brawls.

For a while the issue seemed settled. Gregory stayed on with his father at Nazianzus until both parents died in 374. Then the old question came up again: the Nazianzenes wanted him to accept his father's see. Gregory insisted that they appoint another: they refused or procrastinated until, a year later, Gregory undertook another "flight" to a monastic retreat in or near Isaurian Seleuceia. But he had no inward peace there: it was then the height of Valens' Arian *politik* against which Basil was trying to pit the united opposition of East and West. And suddenly the death of Valens in 378, the succession of the orthodox Theodosius and the death of Basil himself on January 1, 379, changed the whole political-ecclesiastical picture.

There was now hope of an orthodox empire: orthodox doctrine could now be preached at Constantinople itself. And the man who seemed clearly marked out for this mission, in the eyes of the Eastern bishops and of the whole Eastern world, was Basil's theological heir, Gregory himself. This time he does not seem to have put up much resistance: he finally recognized his duty and went to Constantinople. His three-year (379-381) mission in the capital turned out to be the high point of his life and, furthermore, a high point in the whole history of Christianity. It was, by far, the most splendid and most important—the truly climactic instance of that "withdrawal and return," or world-accepting—world-avoiding pattern which characterized his whole life.

Gregory's three-year residence in Constantinople went through no less than six clearly marked phases to which, indeed, he devotes much more

space in his "autobiography" than to all his preceding life. It was a turbulent adventure: he had to endure the feverish intrigues of the three great Eastern sees and of Rome itself, at the height of a stupendous religio-political revolution, in the most violent and excitable metropolis of the ancient world. At first the Arians were actively in control: at one time they tried to stone him; all he could find to preach in during the early phases of his mission was an impoverished house-chapel, his beloved "Anastasia." Then he was subjected to one of the most disreputable plots ever perpetrated even by a bishop of that era: the attempt of Peter, the Patriarch of Alexandria, to forestall Gregory's own election to the Throne of Constantinople by the hugger-mugger election of the infamous Maximus the "Cynic" or "Dog," as Gregory preferred to call him.

But despite these plots and his own vacillation, he had won by his preaching such devotion to both himself and the orthodox cause that he was publicly escorted by the new Emperor to the great Cathedral Church of the Apostles and designated as the new Patriarch. This designation was later confirmed by the great ecumenical council of 381. But again another intrigue (this time from Rome as well as Alexandria, a chill wind from the West) threatened once more his episcopal position: an old canon of Nicaea was belatedly invoked against his translation from one see to another (though in fact he had never been installed at Sasima). Gregory himself was not the real object of the attack but rather the Eastern bishops who had unwisely refused to heed Gregory's own insistence that the Western candidate, Paulinus, be confirmed as bishop of Antioch. If the West could not get its man in Antioch, it was determined that the East should not have its own man—

Gregory—in Constantinople. Gregory could without doubt have defeated the Western intrigue; instead he resigned his throne and left the city. His action clearly promoted the unity of Christendom; his real work at Constantinople had, in any event, been triumphantly accomplished.

The best we can do here to reconstruct something of the atmosphere of this tremendous triennium is to quote from Gregory's own description of it. His original attitude toward his mission emerges first in this remarkable comparison of the two capitals:<sup>18</sup>

Nature has given us no double suns  
But double Romes, lamps of all the world,  
The entire world, the old and the new  
power,  
So differing each from the other,  
That the one shines in the East at dawn,  
The other in the evening West: yet equal  
both, as beauty  
Vies with beauty. But in the faith, the one  
Far older, and in it still faithful and firm,  
Binding the whole West to the saving Word,  
As is befitting what presides over the whole  
And worships the entire Symphony of God;  
The other, formerly straight-stepping, now  
no longer,  
(I speak of it as mine and, then, not mine)  
But lying in the depths of misery,  
From that time when the fickle-minded city  
Full of all evils, Alexandria,  
Mad hot-house, sent forth Arius,  
Monster of desolation, he who first said:  
"No homage to the Trinity" and did set  
grades  
Of Dignity to the one Nature  
Cutting unequally the indivisible essence  
Until it was divided into many ways.

Then we see him as, discouraged by the Maximus affair, he made his first and unsuccessful attempt to leave his church and his mission:<sup>19</sup>

Now there burst out the message of farewell  
That I delivered with labor of paternal  
loins:  
"Keep whole the Trinity I gave to you,  
As father most propitious to each child be-  
loved,  
And all my labors, dearest, keep in mind!"  
But when the congregation heard these  
words,  
And some one of the hot-heads shouted out,

Then like a swarm of bees, aroused by  
smoke,  
The people straight rose up; with cries  
they rage.  
Men, women, maidens, youths,  
Children, the aged, noble and plebeian,  
Magistrates and some old soldiers even,  
Each alike seething with desire and with  
rage,  
Rage for their enemies, desire for their  
priest.  
But it was not my part to bend the knee  
by force,  
Nor serve a throne not sanctioned by the  
law,  
When even by law I could not be com-  
pelled.  
Then to another path of their desire they  
turn:  
By many oaths and prayers they beg  
For me at least to stay and help them there  
And not to let the wolves upon the flock.  
How then could I contain my tears,  
Oh Anastasia, of temples most revered?  
Oh ark of Noah, which raised the prostrate  
faith  
Alone, fleeing the world's great flood and  
bearing back  
In seed at least, a second, orthodox world.

Then, the wonderful scene as Gregory, in triumph, entered the Church of the Apostles:<sup>20</sup>

'Twas dawn, yet night held all the city,  
A cloud overrunning the circle of the sun:  
The thing was least appropriate to that  
time,  
For there is naught loves sunshine like a  
crowd.  
But this gave pleasure to mine enemies,  
As if God were displeased with what was  
done.  
And was to me a secret sorrow in my heart.  
But when I and the impurpled emperor  
Advanced inside the venerable chancel,  
And all uplifted a common praise of God,  
As they invoked Him shouting, hands held  
high,  
Then so bright a beam of sunlight did flash  
forth,  
Just as the cloud broke up at God's com-  
mand,  
That the whole chamber straightway did  
become  
Illumined that before was gloomed and  
dark,  
And they, at once, could grasp the ancient  
shape  
Of the tabernacle which God's brightness  
had concealed.  
Sunny, then, the faces and the hearts of  
all!

And then, most vivid of all, the great, final parting, the sinister "wind from the west." Here Gregory employs a masterful irony:<sup>21</sup>

What need to say with what and with how many words  
 Those dear friends tried to keep the grey-haired man,  
 Granting him foremost honors, begging of him  
 "A noble favor"—alas—from "Noble Gregory."  
 My noble friends inviting me to a conflated heap  
 Of woes—namely to keep me with them as their aid  
 In all things: who could imagine such a folly!  
 That the multitude, not God's Words, should be my guide.  
 The waters will ascend into the sky  
 Or fire go upon the opposite track  
 'Ere I'll betray aught of mine own salvation.  
 'Twas clear: I was giving up my home,  
 Dragging myself from the abysses of the Church,  
 Far from all evils, arguments and meetings.  
 But then my partisans did groan and grieve  
 Especially the people. I cannot mention all of what,  
 Shouting, they begged of me, lifting their hands to God,  
 Swearing oaths, as if already mourning  
 For one departed. Oh, what emotions! What a flood of tears!  
 How could I bear them? And with what a heart?  
 "You're leaving us," I heard, "us, that plant of yours,  
 Once slender, now so fruitful and so fair,  
 Your proselytes, who stand about your doors,  
 To whom it's only needful now to open up  
 What is within—youself, keen-scented missionary!  
 To whom do you leave us? Who will bring up  
 What you have brought to birth? Think on your toils,  
 The toils that have laid you low. Give what is left  
 Of your breath to us and to your God.  
 Let service in this temple be your life's reward."  
 Such was the cry—yet still did I persist  
 And in a little while God gave me my release:  
 There came, came summoned suddenly,  
 As if to help somehow the cause of peace,  
 Egyptians and Macedonians, representatives

Of the divine Laws and Mysteries, on us Breathing the chill breath of the Western wind.  
 Against them breathed the people of the East:  
 They like boars sharpening horrendous teeth  
 (So shall I imitate the note of tragedy)  
 With slanting squint and with their eyes enflamed  
 Came on to meet these. In all the many motions  
 Was more of violence than of reasoned act.  
 These then devised what would be bitterest for me,  
 Advancing laws that long ago were void  
 And from whose force I was completely free.  
 Not from enmity to me, nor eager to give other men  
 The throne, not at all: but only to spite Those who enthroned me.

So Gregory left and passed the rest of his life (he died in about 390 when something over sixty years of age) on the family property near Nazianzus. Here he found at last the peace he had sought so long; here he wrote the bulk of his poems; here he died in the odor of that sanctity to which he had ever aspired.

His whole life, as we have just seen, was marked by a definite rhythm of advance and retreat, withdrawal and return, flight from the world and work in the world. It seemed that he could not resist the importunities of family and friends: at Athens, at Nazianzus, at Sasima, at Constantinople he was in spite of himself compelled to serve a world to which he had ever been alien. By his force of character, by his tremendous capacity to excite human affection, he had made himself a person that the world could not let go. He was indeed a double man, a dual personality: his oratory, his poetry, his very actions were obviously designed to attract and astound, to inspire public and private loyalties; yet these were but the husks or outer skin of an inner self that was not in the world at all but in the mountain-cloud surrounding the divine presence. We

must try at least to realize this wonderful duality — this astounding tension of opposites — in his three greatest achievements: his oratory, his poetry and his theology.

Norden in his *Antike Kunstprosa* (vol. 2, pp. 526-69) has brilliantly described the nature of his rhetorical style. It has nothing of the precious Atticism of the Second Sophistic: the elegances and anachronisms of Libanius he wholly avoided; his was a definitely Asiatic style, very like in many ways the antithetical, sonorously repetitive style of Gorgias or Antiphon. Undoubtedly Himerius was his principle *contemporary* model: compare, for example, Himerius' *Oration* on his deceased son, Rufinus, (Lyncei ed., p. 64) with any of Gregory's funeral orations (e.g., on Basil). But Gregory's style was also his own. Its great characteristic (here quite unlike the style of Basil or Chrysostom) is the short colon or phrase. All his long sentences are climactic composites of short phrases, each often beginning with the same word and ending in a similar or identical sound, and each reinforcing a single emotion, idea or impression. Typical is the following bit from a Christmas sermon:<sup>22</sup>

Once more the darkness is dissipated, once more the light is created, once more Egypt is plagued by the darkness, once more Israel is illumined by the pillar. Let the people that sat in the darkness of ignorance see the great light of knowledge. The old has passed away: lo, everything is new. The Letter retreats, the Spirit triumphs, the shadows pass by, the Truth makes entrance. Melchizedek is now surpassed. The motherless becomes the fatherless for he that was before without mother is now, in truth, without father. The Laws of nature are broken up. Needs must the world on High be filled! Christ orders it: let us not resist Him.

This style can at times, it must be admitted, become tediously repetitive: at its best it is wonderfully moving. Of course translation, here as always,

is very inadequate: it is indeed worth learning Greek just to be able to read these orations in their original splendor. But though Gregory was an orator who knew all the tricks, he was one very unlike the sophists of Athens. Himerius has given us Hyperides defending Demosthenes (*Or. 1*) or Themistocles attacking the King of Persia (5): Gregory had more important and more contemporary matters to think about — indeed his eloquence is the reflex of deep purpose and of genuine passion. He knew the uses and the dangers of words. Listen to this, his poetical version of a sermon to his flock at Constantinople:<sup>23</sup>

For many are the pathways to salvation,  
Many that lead unto community with God  
That you must follow, not alone the verbal  
one.  
For even the voice of naked faith suffices:  
By it God straightway saves the greatest  
part.  
For if the Faith fell only 'mid the Wise  
There would be nothing poorer than than  
God.  
But if there's someone loves to talk, is full  
of zeal,  
And thinks it dreadful if his speech flow  
not,  
(I pray you show humanity there too!)  
Let him speak, but fearfully, not all the  
time,  
Not everything, not to all, nor everywhere,  
But with respect to whom, what, where,  
how much and when.  
Measure is best, as said one of the wise.  
Separate the Mysian boundaries from the  
Phrygian,  
Separate the words of pagans from my  
words!  
The first speak for display, to crowds of  
youths  
With fictions whose success or failure  
Means nothing. Nothing there is that's  
weaker  
Than shadow, shadow: but whether unto  
you  
(For my design is ever to proclaim the  
truth)  
It happens thus or not, speech is a danger-  
ous thing.  
The path is steep and to fall out of it  
Is to fall openly into the gates of Hell.

This is not quite true of Gregory at all times. He did on occasion speak too

much, too ornately, too emotionally. But it is mainly true. Once when Jerome asked him for the meaning of a rare word, he told him to listen to his (Gregory's) next sermon: when all the people applauded it, Jerome would be compelled either to learn what he did not know or to show his stupidity by alone keeping silence. The irony here seems unmistakable and the meaning clear: is not Gregory saying that he is no oracle (he cannot answer Jerome's question) and that his own fine oratory can often produce applause without true understanding?<sup>24</sup> The fact is that Gregory knew the limitations of words. Essentially he despised the world and its false adulation. He was sure that the best knowledge is inarticulate. Compare, for example, the magnificence of his sarcasm with the mystical restraint of his piety. In his great farewell address to the bishops at Constantinople he has this masterpiece of ironical invective:<sup>25</sup>

And perhaps they would blame me — indeed they have blamed me — for the magnificence of my table, the splendor of my garments, my attendants, my arrogance to visitors. For I did not know that I had to emulate presidents and governors and illustrious generals and all who have so much they cannot get rid of it. Or that my belly ought to feel the pinch as I revelled in poor people's property, used their necessities for my own excess and belched all over the altar. Or that I ought to be driven by magnificent horses, borne in splendid state on chariots, conducted in parades to universal applause with everybody making way for me as if I were some animal, everybody opening a passage for my progress so that I might be conspicuous even from a distance. If all that was so terrible, it is over now. Pardon my error! Choose some one else to please the crowd. But give me my solitude, my naïveté. Give me my God whom alone would I please in all my simplicity. Terrible it is if I have to go without the speeches and meetings, the eulogies and bursts of applause by which I have been so exalted, without acquaintances and friends and honors, without the beauty and grandeur of the city and that glare which dazzles all who look at it but do not

look inside themselves. But it is not so terrible as being harassed and besmeared in public brawls, disturbances and popularity contests. It is not clergymen they want but orators, not directors of souls but experts in finance — not priests at the altar but sturdy politicians. There's some excuse for them: that is the way we have brought them up, we who are all things to all men, so that we may either save them or damn them — which, I'm not quite sure.

That is the world, the world in which bishops were so much at their ease, and it cried out for the rhetoric of sarcasm. He used another kind of eloquence when he turned from the episcopal throne to the mystical mountain and cloud:<sup>26</sup>

What then was my experience, oh friends, initiates and fellow lovers of the truth? I was running toward God, toward the comprehension of God, and so I climbed the mountain and penetrated the cloud and went inside it away from matter and material things, achieving the fullest possible degree of self-concentration. But when I looked, I barely caught a glimpse of God's back. And only at that, because I was covered by a rock, by the World for us made flesh. And so I looked for a little while, not at the first and stainless nature, the nature that is known only to itself — I mean the Trinity — and stays within the innermost veil and is covered by the Cherubim, but solely at that outermost nature to which we have access. And this that we can know, that exists in all creatures, in all that is made and is preserved, is itself a greatness or, as David calls it, a magnificence. And this is God's back, that knowledge of him which is behind him, just like the shadows and images in the water that reveal the sun to those with weak eyes, since they cannot see the sun itself and their vision is overwhelmed by the purity of its light. Such too will be your Theology, even if you be Moses or the god of Pharaoh, even if, like St. Paul, you reach the third Heaven and hear unutterable things — even if you go beyond these and join the ranks of the angels and archangels. For everything celestial or supercelestial — all that is of much higher nature than us and closer to God — all, all this is farther from God and the perfect understanding of Him than it is from that synthetic nature of ours, which is so weak and limited, so ponderously weighted toward the earth.

This also is rhetorical but it reflects a

living emotion set forth in the language of *Exodus* and of Clement of Alexandria but adapted to the Nicene Theology into which, as we shall see, it reads a tremendous mystical meaning. Here is a profound idea which itself gives eloquence to the words by which it is expressed.

Gregory's poetry is for the most part not equal to his prose. In one sense he is mainly imitative, like the Renaissance or English public-school Greeks, showing a clever mastery of a meter and diction to which he was not really native. In his brief poem, *On His Verses*, he writes of the purpose of his poetry:<sup>27</sup>

What was my purpose? Probably you wonder.  
 First then I wanted, even though at work for others,  
 To so control my own unmeasuredness,  
 That, if I wrote, I yet would not write much,  
 Having to watch the meter. Secondly, I wrote  
 For the young—those who rejoice in Letters,  
 As if to give them some sweet medicine,  
 A help persuasive to more useful things,  
 Sweetening by art the bitterness of counsel.  
 The taut bow often needs to be relaxed.  
 All this to please you: if you want more,  
 Take these as the equivalent of chants and hymns.  
 I've offered something sportive, if you wish to sport,  
 So that no harm befall you, as you seek the good.  
 But I had a third purpose, perhaps a thing Of scant significance. I had it, nonetheless.  
 I would not grant the heathen leadership In Letters. I speak of their embroidered words.  
 Even the true beauty lies for us in contemplation.

Here we cannot fail to note the apologetic tone: it seems clear that his third purpose was in part at least his real purpose; yet he had to give edifying reasons for his poetical work. It was no simple matter for a Christian to appropriate the forms of pagan literature: he did it, but with a good deal of de-

fensiveness. Yet even when we discard the imitativeness—the side of his poetry which is so often a mere pastiche—we come to a residue which is both original and Christian.

The division of the poetry in Migne (two sections labeled *Theologica* and *Historica* of which the first is subdivided into *dogmatic* and *moral* poems, the second into poems *about himself* and poems *about others*) is the editor's, not Gregory's. It does, however, indicate how much of the considerable bulk is didactic and expository. Essentially—though there are interesting and moving pieces in the first or *Theological* section—it is the autobiographical poems (especially the long poem *On His Own Life*, 2. 11) which are original. And though Gregory tried many meters (hexameter, elegiac, trochaic septenarii, even non-quantitative rhythms), he is clearly at his best in the iambic trimeter (the meter of 11) though the hexameter poems 2. 1 and 19 (*On His Own Affairs*, *On His Troubles*) and the elegiac piece 2. 45 (*A Mournful Poem on the Calamities of His Spirit*) are interesting.

I have quoted fairly extensively from 11, the long verse "autobiography." It is a very remarkable composition in that it reflects a personality as does no other poem ever written by an ancient Greek. There was a special reason for Gregory's inwardness, his urge to reflect on his own feelings, to go over his past experiences. Like Jeremiah, to whom in many ways he is so cognate, he confronted two opposite goals or paths, neither of which was unambiguously preferable to the other: parents, friends, councillors urged him to use his talents in the world, as son, as brother, as orator, as priest, as bishop; his inner voice, reinforced by visions and mystical voices, urged him in quite another direction. And yet he saw that he owed something—much indeed—

to the world: his problem was, indeed, to so save himself—his own soul—that it could grow sufficiently unworldly to help preserve the world from its own worldliness.

To him so caught in such a complex conflict of tendencies (and there were also other tendencies: his devotion to classical literature and oratory, for example) his parents and friends (even Basil his dearest and most sympathetic friend) gave no help or true understanding. He had to fight it out, alone, with all his own weaknesses, timidities, ambitions and gaucheries to hinder him. Such an inner conflict was, we can see, a peculiarly Christian (or perhaps Judaeo-Christian) thing: even the Platonic desire to escape the realm of matter or the corruption of demagogic politics is quite unlike Gregory's (though there is a large element of Platonism in Gregory), for Plato's philosophy had nothing of the personal and social character of Gregory's Christian faith. Gregory was "involved" in the Church, and the Church was involved in both the world and the cloister, both the throne and the mountain. He could not withdraw from the world with an easy conscience: nor could he stay in it without violating his very nature, his very soul. All this is the stuff and substance of his poetry.

Georg Misch,<sup>28</sup> it seems to me, distinguishes too sharply between the purely personal purpose of Gregory's autobiography and the public-apologetic purpose of Augustine's *Confessions*. Gregory was not only trying to explain himself to himself, but to the world as well. He also saw an apologetic or moral lesson in his own life. The difference rather lies in their two experiences: Augustine felt no such distaste for the "throne," no such sense of a division of directions in Christianity itself. He opposes much of what Gregory opposed, but he impresses us in the

*Confessions* as a man who has had an experience; Gregory impresses us as one who is still having it even in his last retirement. His poetry, in other words, sprang from an on-going and never ending conflict between himself and the world and between these tendencies inside himself. For, unlike Augustine, he thought of the world and its opposite—the *philosophia* or "theory" of the cloister—as stark or absolute antitheses: this is why their conflict was so acute and persistent. He quite lacked the peculiar "inwardness" of Augustine's conception of sin—the insight that *sin itself is spiritual* and that no mere withdrawal or rejection of the world and matter, no amount of ascetic discipline could ever solve a problem that was angelic before it was human. Here Gregory's Platonic dualism in one sense exacerbated his inwardness; in another, greatly diminished it.

I have so far spoken of Gregory's poetry from the standpoint of its autobiographical content. What of its language and style, its verbal or sheerly poetical originality? I think on the whole Bernhard Wyss<sup>29</sup> is right when he remarks that Gregory lacked the creative force to break the conventions in which Greek poetry had so long been petrified. All in all, Gregory could have expressed himself better in prose since it is his feeling, not his poetical phraseology that is new and striking. Yet there are times when we feel the poetry to be both moving and natural: Gibbon,<sup>30</sup> with true critical insight, has, for example, called attention to "the beautiful lines . . . which burst from the heart" in the passage (quoted above, p. 154, "Ask me") on the Sasima affair and Basil's betrayal. It is indeed when Gregory lets himself speak out, when he recalls the great scenes of his life—the storm off Egypt, the break with Basil, the moving contest of will

between himself and his fervent congregation at Anastasia, his struggle to resist the insistent demand of the mob who would make him bishop of Constantinople—that he is most poetical and least imitative.

Yet it is by a sure instinct that he has been called the "Theologian"; it is to his five great theological orations that he owed his influence at Constantinople and still mainly owes his present fame. Here modern scholars and theologians have not done Gregory justice.<sup>31</sup> There can be no doubt that Basil and Basil's brother Gregory of Nyssa have left a far greater body of strictly theological writing: Nyssa in particular possessed a philosophical mind which far exceeded, in scope and subtlety, the more polemical work of Basil or the more rhetorical work of Nazianzus. Furthermore, viewed simply as a technical theologian, Gregory was no great innovator: in his defence of trinitarian orthodoxy he followed closely in the footsteps of Basil. But in one crucial respect Gregory went beyond Basil and laid down the main lines along which Nyssa was to develop his most important theological and mystical treatises.

Essentially the three Cappadocians were concerned to expound the infeasibly Christian character of trinitarian theology. Arius, in degrading Christ to a lesser divinity or spirit, had in effect spoiled the fundamental Christian doctrine: the centrality of Christ in the scheme of salvation. The later (fourth-century) Arianism of Aetius and Eunomius had reduced the Father himself to a limited unitary concept which was only a bare philosophical theorem. On the other hand, the anti-philosophical piety of the East (especially of Egypt) was steadily tending toward a more and more physicalist and even crassly materialist conception of Christ and salvation: it was the immortalizing

of flesh, Christ's possession not of a human soul but of a human body, with which Apollinarius and the monophysites were concerned and against which Athanasius himself only belatedly and reluctantly reacted. Thus the great task of the Cappadocians was not merely to defend the technical doctrine of the trinity (three hypostases or persons in one substance or *ousia*) but, above all, to show its spiritual or truly religious meaning.

Here they had to show that God was neither a static Platonic Form (to reach whom the inferior human *psuché* required a semi-divine mediator) nor a kind of magician mainly concerned to impart immortality to human flesh. They did this by insisting that He (in His full triune nature) was infinite and incomprehensible: salvation thus could be neither a bodily nor a simply philosophical affair; it was in fact the finite's pursuit of the infinite, and would be rewarding and beatifying in proportion to the very obscurity and wonder of the goal. Gregory here employed (as we have seen: quotation on p. 159, "What then") the image of Moses in the mountain-cloud, following in this respect the second-century Clement of Alexandria. But Clement had lived and written before the Nicene theology was formulated: to him God the Father was infinite and incomprehensible but Christ was neither and could for this very reason act as intermediary between man and God. Gregory, of course, made no such distinction between Father and Son. Christ's redemptive activity in no sense limited His or the Father's infinity. Salvation was rather a process of infinite groping—of movement in the cloud—which Christ furthered and aided even while remaining the goal or end of the process itself. Gregory has put this as follows:<sup>32</sup>

God forever was and is and will be. Or rather: God forever is. For was and will be

are divisions of our own time and of our transitory nature. But He always is, and so calls Himself, as when he prophesied to Moses on the mountain. For he keeps all existence contained in himself, neither beginning, nor ending, a sort of sea of being, infinite and boundless, surpassing every conception of time and nature. By intellect alone is he shadowed forth and, at that, very dimly and meagerly, not from what is in Him, but from what is about Him, as different images are put together to make one likeness of the truth which disappears before it can be grasped and slinks away before it can be known. By such imaginings is our mind enlightened; by such, cleansed; as with vision that cannot stand the lightning flash. To me it seems He does this that He may draw the mind toward Himself by the Apprehensible (for what is absolutely unattainable is beyond hope or effort), then to amaze it by the Unapprehensible. So that in amazement it may long for Him the more. And longing, may be cleansed and cleansed, be made god-like. And with such as these God associates as with kinsmen (to use a bold word), united with them and known as God to gods.

This is really the core of Gregory's theology: the sense of *Théo-sis*—man becoming divine—as an approach of finite to infinite which is, as it were, inspired and caused by the very difference of finite and infinite, knowable and unknowable. God is unapproachably remote from, and inseparably close to man: his infinity or "otherness" is one with his activity and love. Basil also had this idea and Nyssa greatly developed it. But Nazianzus was the one who first used the Clementine theology<sup>33</sup> and the Clementine metaphors in the new Nicene context: *herein lies his great theological significance.*

Unfortunately, as it seems at least to many in the West, Gregory was unable fully to separate his conception of God and the soul from Platonic idealism. He, like Basil or Nyssa or Origen or practically all the Greek fathers, saw or tended to see the bodily, temporal, *worldly* world as more or less evil in itself; the incorporeal or spiritual as in itself good. The angelic Fall was to him

a real mystery as was indeed the material creation itself. This kind of Platonic dualism was, as we have seen, a basic factor in his whole personality as well as in his theology. It partly determined the dialectical movement of his life and of his poetry.

For he made the antithesis between the world and the cloister, flesh and spirit, the ideal and the material far too sharp: on the one hand, he failed fully to grasp the essential goodness and purposiveness of the created world, of society, history—even the church in society and history; on the other, he did not see the irreducibly spiritual character of evil, see that, in the last analysis, it is flesh which is corrupted by spirit for flesh is not of itself an active cause of sin. He did not at all see that the Pauline antithesis of *flesh* (*sárx*) and *spirit* (*pneúma*) is very different from the Platonic antithesis of body and soul.

But it would be a disastrous error to take Gregory as but a mere Hellenizer of Christianity. His "orthodoxy" was informed by a marvelous sense of what was essential to the integrity of the faith: he saw the defect of Eunomius' aridly philosophical God as of Apollinarius' dehumanized Christ. More than that, he saw the Trinity not just as hypostases and *ousia* but as the perfect combination of unapprehensible mystery with active love. There is nothing Platonic or Hellenistic in such an idea!

Furthermore Gregory in practice was a man who loved his fellows and was loved by them: his very reluctance to serve the world even as Bishop was, in part at least, a desire to save the world from its own corruption, its confusion of God and Caesar, holiness and expediency. He certainly lacked the deep understanding of sin—or of its spiritual roots—that we find in Augustine: this is why his autobiography, for all its inwardness, is also so deficient in

true self-analysis. Gregory never quite saw why the choice between "throne" and "mountain" was so difficult and ambiguous. It seemed so clear and yet always eluded him: he could not refuse his family, his friends and his church (and often for wholly correct as well as human reasons) but he tended to see them as always against him, envious of his leisure and his holy vows and even of his own salvation. Yet had he not been always conscious of the two ways, the two kinds of Christian life, he would have possessed far less depth and understanding, been of far less actual influence. He saw what his parents, Basil, the bishops and people at Constantinople did not see or see with anything like his perspicuity: the danger of a Church fully accommodated to the World; the folly of Christian business without Christian leisure—of the life of Martha untouched by the good part of Mary.

Unfortunately very little first-rate work has been done on his life or his writings. In some ways, he was a more important ecclesiastic than Basil, a more original theologian than Gregory of Nyssa, a more sensitive and perceptive monastic than either of them. His eloquence, his rhetoric—even his poetical skill—have all too often obscured the content, the ideas and insights of his writing. His theology has generally been thought of as a secondary popularization of Basil's or as a series of technical disquisitions on the relation of the three hypostases to one *ousia*. Even his most obvious and approachable sides—his remarkable oratory, his unique poetical autobiography—have been given lip-service rather than careful study and appreciation.

There is much of contemporary value in his life. His problems are but forms of our own problems. The first corruption of the Church after the conversion of Constantine was the precur-

sor of many subsequent corruptions: even worldly bishops are not wholly extinct. The early days of monasticism are long past: the impulse and the necessity which produced monasticism are still with us. The late autumnal quality of Gregory's civilization was remote from the "progress" atmosphere of the nineteenth century: no siege of Rome then seemed to be around the corner. It is different now. If we wish to return to the fourth century for its permanent insights and, indeed, for its own sake (it is one of the most interesting centuries), we can select no better guide than Gregory of Nazianzus.

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<sup>1</sup> The most extensive English translation of Gregory is that of the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (Second Series)*, vol. 7, pp. 186 ff. in the American edition (Christian Literature Company, 1894); the translators were the Revs. Charles G. Browne and J. E. Swallow; the works translated comprise a number of the orations (including the five "Theological" orations) and most of the letters. The funeral orations are also translated by Leo P. McCauley, s.j. in *Funeral Orations by Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose (Fathers of the Church)*, vol. 22 (New York, 1953) pp. 3-156. No English translation of the poems exists, to my knowledge, though some have been put into French by Paul Gallay (*Grégoire de Nazianze, Poèmes et Lettres* [Lyon-Paris, 1941]). By far the best single book on Gregory is the same Gallay's *La Vie de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Lyon-Paris, 1943). This contains a good bibliography (cf. also the bibliography in Altaner's *Patrologie*). For a discussion of the Cappadocians and Nazianzus (especially their theology) cf. my "Cappadocian Thought as a Coherent System," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 12 (1958) 95 ff. All translations in this article are my own and are based on the Greek text in Migne (PG, vols. 35-38). The projected new edition of Gregory by the Cracow Academy was unfortunately interrupted by the war. In general I think it fair to say that little really first-rate work has in recent years been done on Nazianzus aside from the valuable pioneer efforts of Gallay and the Cracow Academy. Tillemont (*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique* [Paris, 1703] vol. 9, pp. 305-560) is still indispensable. T. Sinko (cf. citations in Gallay, *Vie*) laid the foundations of a reliable chronology of the works and on these Gallay has built: but much remains to be done. In this article I inevitably must omit many things such as, e.g., Gregory's relations to his brother Caesarius (a prominent court phy-

sician) or to Gregory Nyssa and many other personalities of the time, the intricate problem of his indebtedness to Origen, etc. I have endeavored only to give an idea of the man (especially by quotations from his poetry) and of his real importance in his own time and since.

<sup>2</sup> On Nazianzus, the town, cf. Gallay, *La Vie*, pp. 8-19. Probably it was at least close to the modern Turkish village of Nenizi. One can best reach the area today by turning off the present Ankara-Adana road at Nigde. On the ancient background of Cappadocia cf. the interesting discussion in E. Ivánka's *Hellenisches und Christliches im Frühbyzantinischen Geistesleben* (Vienna, 1948) pp. 28-42.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, PG, vol. 37, cols. 1035-36: this is at the beginning of the long (1949 iambic trimeters) poem *On His Own Life* (*Poem 11 of Sectio I of the Poemata Historica*) verses 82-92. All poem numbers hereafter given will refer to *Sectio I* of the *Poemata Historica* (=PG, vol. 37, cols. 969-1452).

<sup>4</sup> I refer especially to 45. 249-66 (cols. 1571-72) and 11. 101-109.

<sup>5</sup> This is listed in Migne as *Oration 18* (translated in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, pp. 254 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> On fourth-century monasticism (as well as the Cappadocians' rôle in it) see the remarkable essay of Hans Lietzmann, "The Era of the Church Fathers" (*A History of the Early Church*, vol. 4, trans. Woolf [London, 1951]) pp. 124-202. W. K. Lowther Clarke's *St. Basil the Great: A Study in Monasticism* (Cambridge, 1913) and Dom Amand, *L'Ascèse Monastique de Saint Basile* (Maredsous, 1948) throw some light on Basil's conception of the monastic life. But I do not think that they have done anything like justice to the nuances of Cappadocian thought: here, as in theological questions, the originality of Nazianzus has been all but ignored. Cf. *Poem 11*, 232 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Poem 11*, 162-66 (col. 1041).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 194-98.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 211-13.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 237-58.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 265-73.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 330-33.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 345-56.

<sup>14</sup> The quotation is from *Oration 18. 37=PG*, vol. 35, col. 1036.

<sup>15</sup> *Poem 11*, 389-99.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 474-83.

<sup>17</sup> Letter 49=PG, vol. 37, col. 101.

<sup>18</sup> *Poem 11*, 562-82.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 1057-83.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 1353-70.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 1766-1814.

<sup>22</sup> *Oration 39=PG*, vol. 36, col. 313 A-B.

<sup>23</sup> *Poem 11*, 1225-49.

<sup>24</sup> Jerome, Ep. 52 (*ad Nepotianum*). Wyss (below, note 29) takes this literally as if Gregory really thought that understanding could be measured by applause. But cf. Gallay, *La Vie*, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Oration 42. 24=PG*, vol. 36, col. 488 A-C.

<sup>26</sup> *Oration 28* (=Theological Oration 2). 3=PG, vol. 36, col. 29 A-B.

<sup>27</sup> *Poem 39*, 33-52.

<sup>28</sup> Geschichte der Autobiographie (Leipzig-Berlin, 1907) vol. 1, p. 396. On p. 400, however, Misch seems to me to describe the basic difference between Gregory's and Augustine's "inwardness" quite well.

<sup>29</sup> In his excellent article on Gregory's poetry, "Gregor von Nazianz, Ein griechisch-christlicher Dichter des 4. Jahrhunderts," *MusHeiv* 6 (1949) 177-210, Wyss gives some fine German versions of Gregory's poems. Note especially his excursions on Gregory's meters and on his relation to Horace (there is really no provable influence of Horace on Gregory).

<sup>30</sup> Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. 27, p. 77 (Everyman ed.). It is noteworthy that Gibbon was more kindly disposed to Gregory than to any other Christian father.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. my remarks in the article cited above (note 1).

<sup>32</sup> *Oration 45* (*In Sanctum Pascha*). 3=Oration 38 (*De Christi Nativitate*). 7. The first is in PG, vol. 36, col. 625 C; the second in PG, vol. 36, col. 317 B-C. The repetition is obviously deliberate.

<sup>33</sup> Concerning Nazianzus' dependence on Clement, cf. my article (above, note 1) p. 108.

# THE FORUM

editor MARGARET M. FORBES

## ADVANCED PLACEMENT INSTITUTE AND SEMINAR (MICHIGAN)

THE LAST FEW YEARS have witnessed a spectacular awakening of the American public to our need for foreign language training, and an almost equally spectacular resurgence of interest in Latin, both in the schools and in our colleges and universities. There is a growing awareness that two years of Latin—two years of any language—are not enough for serious achievement. From this awareness has sprung the desire to revive and strengthen advanced Latin courses in the secondary schools. One of the most promising devices for achieving this end is the Advanced Placement Latin Program of the College Entrance Examination Board. Starting only a few years ago with a few schools and colleges in the East, the Program now stands on the threshold of a vastly expanded activity and usefulness. The University of Michigan Advanced Placement Latin Institute and Seminar, planned by Professor Gerald F. Else, Chairman of the University's Department of Classical Studies, has offered to Latin teachers throughout the country an opportunity to appraise the Program in detail and to survey its usefulness in strengthening advanced Latin.

The main work of the Institute was carried on in the Advanced Placement Latin Seminar, offered as a regular graduate course in Latin during the University of Michigan Summer Session, June 20 to August 13, 1960, under the direction of Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics and Dean of Students at Hunter College in the Bronx, with the assistance of Richard T. Scanlan, Teacher of Latin at Edina-Morningside High School, Edina, Minnesota. In addition to the Seminar, the University of Michigan, within the framework of the Institute, sponsored a conference to bring information about the Program to a larger audience.

The members of the Seminar began their work with an examination of the Advanced Placement Program as a whole, and of the Latin section in particular. A study was then made of the philosophy underlying programs for the gifted child. Methods for the selection of students were proposed, and ways of pro-

gramming the courses in the various kinds of secondary schools were suggested. The salient differences between a regular Latin IV class and the Advanced Placement Latin IV course were brought out. In light of these differences, each member of the Seminar taught a particular part of the *Aeneid* to the others, who criticized the presentation. Each member likewise taught a specific selection from the works of one of the authors suggested for Latin V. An example of the *explication de textes* (*explication française*) was presented as a possible method for teaching the authors in depth and breadth. The work of the Seminar was concluded with the preparation of a pamphlet titled "Tentative Advanced Placement Program in Latin." The pamphlet discusses such topics as selection of students; selection of teachers; programming the courses; content and objectives; Latin as sound; reading and literature; and Roman history and culture. *A few copies of this brochure are still available and may be obtained by writing to Professor Else.*

The Conference on The Advanced Placement Program in Latin, held on July 15-16, 1960, though supplementing the Latin Institute, was planned as an independent, self-contained affair. It was sponsored by the University of Michigan Summer Session and the Department of Classical Studies with the cooperation of the College Entrance Examination Board and the University Extension Service. The Conference staff, in addition to Mr. Levy and Mr. Scanlan, consisted of Jack N. Arbolino, Director of the CEEB Advanced Placement Program; Carolyn E. Bock, Chairman of a national committee for the recruitment of Latin teachers; Frank O. Copley, Professor of Latin, University of Michigan, and Consultant to the Michigan schools on programs for superior students; John L. Heller, member of the committee of examiners in Latin, AP program; Allan S. Hoey, Chief Examiner in Latin, AP program, 1958-59; Doris E. Kibbe, Teacher of AP Latin courses at Manchester High School, Manchester, Connecticut; Malcolm MacLaren,

Chief Reader in Latin, AP program; and Clyde Vroman, Director of Admissions, University of Michigan.

There were 97 registrants for the conference, coming from 21 different states and Canada. Michigan had the largest delegation with 58 teachers present, but most of the other midwestern states were well represented, with teachers from the East, Far-West and South in attendance as well.

The conference began with an overview of the AP Latin Program, given by Mr. Hoey. Mr. Heller and Mr. MacLaren then explained the construction and grading procedures for the examinations. The problems of placement and credit were discussed by Mr. Arbolino and Mr. Vroman, and the advantages inherent in the AP Program toward the recruitment of Latin teachers were presented by Miss Bock.

The second session was given to a presentation of the courses by Mr. Levy, to a discussion of methods for programming the courses in the schools by Mr. Scanlan, and to a consideration by Miss Kibbe of the problems of selection and grouping. Mr. Copley, having just finished a study of programs for superior students in the Michigan schools, commented on his work, and told the conferees that, in his opinion, Advanced Placement was the best program for the gifted which he had encountered.

Saturday's session was devoted to a panel discussion of the actual conduct of an AP course in the schools. In this as in the other sessions of the conference, there was vigorous participation by the audience.

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## TEACHING VERGIL THROUGH EXPLICATION DE TEXTES

*Paper given at the Thirteenth University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, 1960:*

*Explication de Textes* is a method of studying literature which creates for students a habit of reading literary texts attentively and of interpreting them faithfully; it acts as an antidote against reading literature as one reads a newspaper or a light novel. This method renders the reader capable of finding on a printed page just what is there, all that is there and nothing but what is there. If a piece of literature is worth reading at all,

it is worth reading well. The method of explication will insure this thoroughness of reading.

*Explication de Textes* had its origin in the understanding of Latin and Greek texts; it was used quite extensively by the ancients. It can be traced back to Aristotle, Longinus and Demetrius; Plato used it in his *Phaedrus*; Cicero presented it in his *Orator* and *De Oratore*. Augustine practised this method; Quintilian tabulated it; and it was also used by Varro. From Cicero's *De Oratore* I quote: "This is the first point of my method: I point out to my pupils the model he must choose; I wish him to study with care the good qualities, then exercise himself to imitate them, to reproduce them."

*Explication de Textes* was much in vogue during the Middle Ages, being used as much in the teaching of vernacular literature as it was in the teaching of the Classics. It is, in fact, one of the chief methods employed even today in teaching French pupils of the upper grades how to read and how to write.

In order to get a clearer understanding of the method, let us dwell for a few moments on what it is not. *Explication* is not merely the annotation of texts read carefully in a class period; it is not like our so-called appreciative study in which the teacher endeavors to lead the pupil, without too minute analysis on his part, to catch the spirit of an author or to see the beauty of his work; it is not any species of criticism in which the teacher leaves only a chopped-up page for the edification of the pupil; and it is not a dry study of words, or an over-minute study of grammar. This is rather an exercise that aims to seize upon and unfold an author's purpose and his meaning so that the pupil will be in a condition of mind to react with intelligence to what the author has said. For when it is a matter of literary works, quite replete with substance and wealth of meaning, where ideas intermingle and interrelate, and where possibilities of meaning are limited only by the capacity of the minds which apply them, it is the job of the teacher of literature, whether it be English, or French, or Latin literature, to provide his students with the tools necessary to "read" the works of the masters in the full sense of "reading."

Varro has divided the method of *Explication* into four topics: (1) the *lectio*, which is the reading of the passage through completely. This is not for the purpose of grasping the full meaning but at least of fixing in the memory the principal content of the passage; (2) the *enarratio*, which is an examination of the selection, both literal and literary, in order to discover the truths con-

tained therein, to find out what things are clear, what things are obscure, and to endeavor to make the obscurities reveal their meanings; (3) the *emendatio*; among the ancients this meant the correction of the text, which was necessary because of the numerous errors that were found in hand-copied manuscripts. For us the *emendatio* includes a careful analysis of style and language; (4) the *judicium*, which, as its name indicates, is a judgment of the entire passage, a decision regarding the force of the passage and whether it accomplishes what the author has set out to do.

Since it is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate the use of *Explication* in the teaching of Vergil, I shall now attempt to apply the four Varronian divisions to a passage from Book 6 of the *Aeneid*, lines 666-702, where Aeneas meets his father Anchises in the underworld.

After the initial reading of the passage to be studied, the following preliminary problems should be solved: (1) Are there any divisions in the passage? If so, where do they occur? In this particular selection we find two distinct parts: the request made by the Sibyl to the blessed souls of the underworld to help her and Aeneas find the abode of Anchises, and the actual meeting of Aeneas with his father. (2) Is the meter of the passage predominantly dactylic or spondaic? The metrical reading of the lines shows that the first part is predominantly spondaic and the second part predominantly dactylic. (3) What is the effect of this? The spondaic section portrays the solemnity of the scene as Aeneas and the Sibyl, guided by Musaeus, are taken to the abode of Anchises. The rapid movement, however, of the dactylic lines portrays the happy joy when father and son meet. (4) Are there any significant problems in the meter? After a careful scansion of the lines we find that the only "departure" from regular meter is the word *dehinc* in line 678 which by synecdoche is considered as one syllable. (5) What is the general mood of the passage? The class should have no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that the mood of solemnity characterizes the passage. This they will determine by the seriousness of the venture undertaken by Aeneas, by the formal dignity of conversing with the *felices animae*, and by the meeting of father and son in the abode of the dead.

We are now ready to develop the second topic, the *enarratio*, or the literal and literary examination of the passage. Several ideas that may be suggested to develop this topic are: (1) The elements in the passage that make it appealing. These would be the use

of direct quotations, expressions like *felices animae*, *Genitor*, *da iungere dextram*, *da genitor* and *largo fletu . . . ora rigabat*. (2) The reference to Musaeus, an early bard, whom the Sibyl addresses as *optime vates* when she asks information regarding the dwelling place of Anchises. The Sibyl also refers to Hades as *Erebus*, the name of the god whom the Greeks personified as the son of Chaos, the most ancient of the Greek gods. Again we may mention the *felices animae*, the blessed souls who inhabit Elysium, the happy ancestors of the Trojans who are also asked the whereabouts of Anchises.

A discussion of Vergil's description of the habitation of the shades could well form a part of the *enarratio*. For example, the author has Musaeus describe their abode as "shady groves," as "banks and meadows fresh with streams," as "shining plains and lofty summits of the mountains."

Another question to be considered here is: What was Anchises doing in the underworld and is this in keeping with his status as the father of Aeneas? Vergil describes Anchises as deep in a verdant dale, surveying the souls there enclosed who were to revisit the upper world and enter new bodies. He has the elderly sire reviewing the number of his race, his descendants, their fates and fortunes, their manners and achievements. This is well in accord with Anchises' status as father of Aeneas, who is to found a new race and become king of these Trojans. Anchises' interest is naturally in the future destiny of his son.

As the concluding question of the *enarratio* the class could be asked to discover what compelled Aeneas to seek his father in the underworld. As Aeneas himself tells his father: "O Father, your sad image appearing to me often compelled me to seek you here in these abodes." Toward the end of Book 5 the poet tells us about the ghost of Anchises appearing to his son in a dream and counseling him to sail to Cumae and to consult the Sibyl who would disclose the future to him and conduct him to the lower world.

The third of the Varronian divisions is the *emendatio*, which includes a careful analysis of style and language. Questions which are apropos here are: (1) What words make vivid the abode of the shades? Here we find such expressions as *lucis . . . opacis*, *prata recentia rivis*, *campos nitentes*, *convalle virente* and *haec limina*. (2) What is the force of *excidit* in 686? This verb should be thought of as "fell from," "poured from," "dropped from." It describes the spontaneous overflow into words of Anchises' emotions when he first beholds his son. (3) What

words or expressions indicate the longing and eagerness of Anchises to see his son? The words *alacris palmas utrasque tetendit, effusaeque genis lacrimae*; also, after Anchises begins to talk to Aeneas we find this significant statement: *Sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque futurum, tempora dinumerans*. Anchises says that he had been counting the days until Aeneas would actually visit the underworld. (4) What simile is used to show the elusiveness of the shade of Anchises? Vergil compares it to a light wind which one might try to grasp and to a swift dream which escapes the mind at once. (5) Are there any other literary or word figures in this passage? We find polysyndeton in the repetition of the connective *que* four times in 683, *fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque*; chiasmus in 689, *notas audire et reddere voces*; various examples of alliteration, such as *riparum . . . recentia rivis, fataque fortunasque* and *tua me, genitor, tua tristis*. (6) Students should note Vergil's richness of expression in his choice of words meaning "father," *pater, parens, genitor*, and also *aequa* and *sale* to mean "sea." (7) What is the force of *ter* repeated in 700 and 701? This example of anaphora is not only for emphasis but also to show the frustration that must have existed in the mind of Aeneas as he tried "thrice" to embrace the image of his beloved father. As part of the *emendatio* the teacher may also have students discuss outstanding grammatical structures of the passage. These I have not included in this paper lest it become too lengthy.

The last of the Varronian divisions of *Explication* is the *jucidium*, the students' judgment or evaluation of the selection. The teacher may ask students to judge whether or not the author has handled his problem competently, whether or not he has accomplished what he set out to do. In the passage being studied Vergil aimed to give the reader an account of Aeneas' meeting with his father in the underworld. This he did in a vivid and satisfying manner; moreover he did so with his usual beauty of style and imagery so that a lasting impression has been left on the minds of the readers.

As part of the *jucidium* there should also be a discussion of any strengths and weaknesses found in the selection. For example, one of the strong points they may note, or perhaps the teacher may have to point out to them, is that the last three lines of this passage, the part where Aeneas thrice tries to embrace the ghost of his father, are exact repetitions of Book 2, 792-94 where Aeneas is given a vision of his wife Creusa whom

he at that time tried in vain to clasp to himself. It should be noted too that these same three lines have been taken from the *Odyssey*, Book 11, lines 206-208, and also that they were used by Dante in his *Il Purgatorio*.

Two or three literary translations of the selection may be used for comparative purposes, the differences should be noted, how one translator differs from another, and how much of the original style and meaning is lost in translations. Each student should also determine the lines that are most appealing to him and be prepared to give reasons for his choice.

The final part of the *jucidium* is the writing of a paragraph in Latin about the passage studied. As a conclusion to this exercise, the teacher could assign the writing of a Latin paragraph describing a scene in the underworld.

Depending upon the ability of the class and upon their previous training in using conversational Latin, many of these questions which make up the discussion of each division could and should be presented in Latin, and Latin answers required. A real feeling of accomplishment is experienced by students who are challenged to listen to Latin in questions and who are expected to respond in Latin.

It is clearly evident, I believe, that *Explication* is a very thorough method of teaching literature which requires extreme thoroughness of preparation on the part of the teacher. In using this method the teacher's concern is threefold: (1) to get the students to think and to talk; (2) to have them express themselves without reserve and with absolute sincerity; and (3) to remove the monotony of the conventional method of reading Latin literature and thus keep interest at a higher level.

In conclusion, I would like to examine the value of using this method to teach Vergil, or any other literary text. There can be no doubt that it trains the mind to logical thinking, that it sharpens the feeling for literary structure and for the effective use of individual words, that it gives the student a correct notion of the relative importance of the general theme, the structure and the language of a good piece of literature. The deliberation with which the student covers the lesson fixes his attention closely on the subject matter being studied. These are some of the immediate values.

Some of the far-reaching values might be that students develop intelligent self-reliance and are less likely to be content with superficial knowledge in their outside reading. After doing this for several years, students

will tend to form habits of doing work so thoroughly that they will not be perpetually satisfied to meet minimum requirements and assignments, which, we must confess, many of even our superior students are content to do. By helping our students to form habits of learning thoroughly whatever they study, whatever literary works they read, we shall be helping to make of our future citizens real leaders who have a keen appreciation of the worth of their own intellectual capacities, and thus lessen the number of superficial, mediocre readers with which our modern world is already overflowing.

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#### LATIN WEEK AWARDS

FOR THE SIXTH consecutive year the Latin Week Committee of CAMWS has offered a prize in each state for the best report on a Latin Week celebration. The prize for 1959-60 was a book on archaeological discoveries: *Gods, Graves, and Scholars* by Ceram. The state chairmen of Latin Week judged the reports and awarded the prizes. The following teachers and schools received awards for their outstanding celebration of Latin Week:

Mrs. Clifford A. Fines, Tuscaloosa H.S., Tuscaloosa, Ala.; Rev. John Flattery, Marquette H.S., Ottawa, Ill.; Mrs. Ralph Rogers, New Haven H.S., New Haven, Ind.; Mrs. James B. Wimpy, Glasgow H.S., Glasgow, Ky.; Mrs. Margaret Haynes, Istrouma Senior H.S., Baton Rouge, La.; Sister Mary Lauren, School Sisters of Notre Dame, St. Michael, Minn.; Mrs. Emmett Griffin, Walter Bicket H.S., Monroe, N.C.; Sister Charles Regina, Seton H.S., Cincinnati, Ohio; Miss Elfreida Cole, Greer H.S., Greer, S.C.; Mrs. Lucille

Rose, Snowdon Junior H.S., Memphis, Tenn.; Miss Kloris Ann Dressler, Hinton H.S., Hinton, West Va.; Miss Vera Scheffner, P. J. Jacobs H.S., Stevens Point, Wis.

The State Chairmen who made the awards were: Prof. H. R. Butts, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Ala.; Miss Susan Greer, Streator, Ill.; Miss Gertrude Johnson, Logansport, Ind.; Mrs. H. H. Whithead, Mt. Sterling, Ky.; Mrs. Hugh Hyman, Monroe, La.; Miss Margaret Schummers, Winona, Minn.; Miss Lucy Austin, Salem College, Winston-Salem, N.C.; Miss Sarah Wensell, Cleveland Heights H.S., Cleveland Heights, Ohio; Miss Jean Dash, Hathaway Brown School, Cleveland, Ohio; Miss Letitia Frank, Ware Shoals, S.C.; Mr. O. C. Peery, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.; Miss Lucy Whitsel, Marshall College, Huntington, West Va.; Miss Theodora Taras, La Crosse, Wis.

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El Dorado Springs  
Missouri

#### LATIN WEEK MATERIAL

ATTENTION of Latin teachers is called to the Bibliography of Latin Week Material published in The Forum, October, 1957 (CJ 53 [1957] 12). This material was prepared (mimeographed) by the members of the Latin Week Committee of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. The profit from sales is used to pay the postage bills of the State Chairmen of Latin Week and to finance the prizes in each state for the best reports. The list will be sent upon request made to Miss Donnis Martin, Chairman of Latin Week Committee, 400 North Main St., El Dorado Springs, Missouri.

M. F.

## NOTES ON LATIN DICTIONARIES

JOHN L. HELLER

THE LATIN LANGUAGE is still of some interest to commercial publishers. In the last five years, at least three new or entirely revised Latin dictionaries have been issued, each of them excellent in its way.

*Cassell's New Latin Dictionary (Latin-English, English-Latin)*, by D. P. SIMPSON. London: Cassell, 1959; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1960. Pp. xviii, 883. \$7.00 (\$7.75 thumb-indexed).

*Colling Latin Gem Dictionary (Latin-English, English-Latin)*, by D. A. KIDD. London and Glasgow: Collins, 1957. Pp. xxx, 674. \$1.00.

*Langenscheidt's Latin-English Dictionary*, by S. A. HANDFORD. Berlin: Langenscheidt; London: Methuen; 1955. Pp. 348. \$2.00 (can be ordered from Herder Book Center, Inc., 7 W. 46th St., New York 36).

Mr. Simpson, Assistant Master and Head of the Classical Department at Eton College, has completely overhauled the old Cassell's (by Marchant and Charles; see below). Preserving its generous scale and format, which allows, e.g., thirty lines to illustrate the usage and special constructions of *magis*, he has made room for several thousand words not previously covered, most of them either Plautine or Silver

Latin (Seneca, Quintilian, Pliny, Martial and Juvenal). This has been accomplished largely by the excision of less important proper names (personal or geographical) but also by judicious trimming elsewhere. Many uncertainties have been pruned from the etymologies (no more reference to mystic monosyllabic "roots," à la Max Müller), leaving only appropriate indications of Latin bases or the Greek originals of loan-words. Adverbs are placed under their adjectives, and participles under their verbs. English equivalents are supplied somewhat more sparingly than before, but the references to authority for particular meanings or phrases have been broadened and in some cases corrected (*mulctrarium* is now assigned to Virgil, not Horace); Cicero's *Letters* are everywhere distinguished from his more formal works. The arrangement of items within an article has been improved vastly by typographical devices and by the regular distinction of "Literal" and "Transferred" meanings. Spellings conform to modern texts (but *manticinor* is a slip for *mantiscinor*, Plaut. *Capt.* 896); unassimilated forms are usually preferred (*adsiduus* to *assiduus*), but (usually) with appropriate cross-references. Victorianisms in the English of both sections have been purged, but of course not Criticisms:

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Undertaken as a review of the first two dictionaries listed above, these notes have grown into an article.

*frumentum* is still primarily "corn." The preface supplies an unusually detailed and candid history of the earlier editions of Cassell's dictionary.

An entirely new Latin dictionary prepared by D. A. Kidd, Professor of Classics, University College of the Gold Coast, now takes an honorable place in the Collins series of "Gem" (3 inches x 4½ x 1) dictionaries, which have long been prized by travellers in Europe. If some inquiring tourist also desires to include Latin in his reading or his conversation, he will be well served by this dictionary; even in this country a commuting student will find it very handy. By paring illustrative material to an absolute minimum (only two lines for *magis*), and by eliminating etymologies and references to authority altogether, the editor has managed to include a surprisingly large vocabulary, fully comparable to those of desk-dictionaries (like Cassell's) many times its physical bulk. The meanings supplied, and the proper nouns covered, though reduced in number, are quite adequate for a wide range of reading. The English entries in the English-Latin section, running to over 300 pages and including a useful list of Latin equivalents of modern geographical names, are adapted from a standard list tested in the series of modern-language dictionaries, and their Latin equivalents are supplied with excellent judgment. As the editor rightly warns in his preface, however, unfamiliar Latin words must be checked for usage and idiom against the Latin-English section, or, better yet, against the illustrative phrases cited by a larger dictionary.

No help towards Latin composition is attempted in the third dictionary under consideration. This is a revision by the well-known British scholar, S. A. Handford, of the Feyerabend Latin-English dictionary in the Langenscheidt series.

Not quite so small (4 inches x 6 x 1) as the Gem, and on more substantial paper, but on the same extremely condensed scale and with the further elimination of all except a very few proper nouns, this pocket dictionary has an amazingly large vocabulary. If my estimates are reliable, Handford's Latin vocabulary is larger even than the new Cassell's.

Moreover, both of the new pocket dictionaries excel Cassell's in one important respect. Following the principles of modern-language dictionaries, they give explicit directions for the pronunciation and accent of words. As might be expected, Handford is especially good on these points, discussing a number of anomalies (such as the "long" scansion of the first syllable of compounds of *iacio* with preverbs containing a short vowel, probably indicating actual pronunciations like *ab-jicit* rather than *ābicit*) as well as treating such phenomena as vowel-weakening and syncope, but Kidd's understanding of Latin phonology is also sound enough: *ph* is pronounced like the *p* in *pill*, etc. Both dictionaries regularly mark long vowels in closed syllables (*māgnus*, *mēnsa*, *rēgnum*, *rēx*, etc.), Handford a little more reliably than Kidd. Simpson, by way of contrast, does not mark these vowels, and so far misunderstands the distinction between vowel-length and syllable-length as to say in his preface that "vowels short by nature, which are followed by two consonants, commonly (not always) become 'long by position.'" This old doctrine, of course, aims rather at the mechanics of Latin verse-composition than at the nature (i.e., sounds) of the Latin language.

Unfortunately, this same doctrine disfigures most of the dictionaries available to American students, some of which suffer from other faults as well. In what follows, I attempt a kind of

Consumers Research report on all the Latin dictionaries available from American publishers or agents, according to the *Subject Guide to Books in Print* for 1959, along with three other dictionaries, one German, one French, and one English, available only by special import (as indicated by the absence of a price in the list below). In order (roughly) of their physical bulk, these are as follows (note at the end of each entry the abbreviation to be used below):

*A New Latin Dictionary* founded on the translation of Freund's *Latin-German Lexicon* . . . , rev. by CHARLTON T. LEWIS and CHARLES SHORT. New York, etc. (copyright 1879 by Harper & Bros.; 1907 by Margaret S. Lewis [American Book Co.]; now available from the Oxford University Press). Pp. xiv, 2019. \$11.20. (LS)

*Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine; histoire des mots*, par A. ERNOUT et A. MEILLET. 3me éd. Paris: Klincksieck, 1951. Pp. xxiv, 1385 (4th ed. now appearing in letter-press). (EM)

*F. A. Heinichens lateinisch-deutsches Schulwörterbuch*; 10te Auflage (mit Berücksichtigung ausgewählter mittellateinischer Schriftsteller), bearbeitet von H. BAUER . . . O. HOFFMANN. Berlin: Teubner, 1931. Pp. lvi, 646. (He)

*A Latin-English Dictionary* . . . abridged . . . , by JOHN T. WHITE. 16th ed. Boston: Ginn, 1901. Pp. xi, 650; (English-Latin) viii, 386. \$7.50 indexed. Now available as White's *L-E* and *E-L* *Dictionary*. Chicago: Follett, c. 1928. (W)

*Cassell's Latin Dictionary (Latin-English and English-Latin)*, rev. by J. R. V. MARCHANT and JOSEPH F. CHARLES. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, [1892]. Pp. xiv, 927. \$5.75. Also available as *The Classic Latin Dictionary*. Chicago: Follett, c. 1928. \$4.95. (MC)

*Cassell's New Latin Dictionary* — see above. (Si)

*A Smaller Latin-English Dictionary*, by SIR WILLIAM SMITH; 3rd ed., rev. by J. F. LOCKWOOD. London: John Murray, 1933. Pp. xi, 823. (SL)

*An Elementary Latin Dictionary*, by CHARLTON T. LEWIS, with an appendix of names of

persons and places . . . , comp. by H. M. KINGERY. New York, etc.: American Book Co., 1915. Pp. [iv], 1029. \$7.50. (L)

*Macmillan's Elementary Latin-English Dictionary* . . . , by G. H. NALL. London: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1897. Pp. viii, 432. \$2.00. (N)

*Langenscheidt's Latin-English Dictionary* — see above. (Ha)

*Collins Latin Gem Dictionary* — see above. (K)

*New Pocket Dictionary of the Latin and English Languages* . . . , by J. MACFARLANE. New York: Appleton, 1933. Pp. 2, 888. \$1.75. Now available from McKay. (M)

*The Junior Classic Latin Dictionary (Latin-English and English-Latin)*, with . . . preface by A. J. PROVOST. Chicago: Follett, 1927. Pp. [iv], 198; (English-Latin) 212. \$1.95. Also available as *Handy Dictionary of the Latin and English Languages*. McKay, \$2.00. In both cases a reprint of a much older dictionary ("Wessely's" in the Burt series?).

*Latin-English (Vest-Pocket) Dictionary*, with rules of declension and conjugation, idiomatic words and phrases, syntax. Baltimore: Ottenheimer, 1955. Pp. xlvi, 131. \$0.90. This meretricious compilation, whose copyright date explains the "at least" of my second sentence, is really copied, misprints and all, from the first and weaker half of Hill's *Vest-Pocket Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary*, compiled by L. Brent Vaughan, Chicago, 1900; which in turn was abstracted (about one word in three) from the original of "Provost" (above), as revealed by the word-for-word correspondence of the entries.

In the following table I present my ratings of these dictionaries according to the criteria explained below. Perhaps it should be emphasized that the ratings express one man's opinion only, not the considered judgment of a committee; readers will want to check for themselves. I am not at all uncertain, however, of the justice of my omission from the table of the last two dictionaries named above, as being unsatisfactory by almost every criterion, including legibility. Students should be specifically warned against buying either of them under any title.

TABLE OF RATINGS

Editor(s) see list	LS	EM	He	W	MC	Si	SL	L	N	Ha	K	M
1 Date of copyright	1907	1951	1931	1901	1892	1959	1933	1915	1897	1955	1957	1933
2 Weight in ounces	128	73	48	42	38	49	38	40	15	11	5	6
3 Price in dollars	11.20				7.50	4.95	7.00		7.50	2.00	2.00	1.00
4 Vocabulary in thousands	40	31	18	16	14	17	16	16	13	18	15	19
5 Legibility	C	B	A	C	C	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
6 Proper names	A	D	B	B	B	C	B	C	C	D	C	D
7 English-Latin	E	E	E	B	B	A	E	E	E	E	B	C
8 Modern spelling	A	A	A	C	C	A	A	A	A	A	A	C
9 Phonology explained	E	B	A	D	D	D	B	C	D	A	C	D
10 Variant forms	A	B	B	B	C	B	B	C	D	C	D	C
11 Morphology explained	D	B	A	C	D	D	C	D	E	D	E	E
12 Etymologies	D	A	A	D	D	C	C	D	D	E	E	E
13 Romance derivatives	C	A	C	C	E	E	B	E	E	E	E	E
14 Meanings analyzed	C	B	A	B	C	A	A	D	C	C	C	C
15 Constructions illustrated	A	C	C	B	B	C	C	C	D	D	D	E
16 References to authors	A	B	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	E	E	E
17 Coverage: Old Latin	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	C	C	A	C	A
18 Coverage: Late Latin	A	A	A	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	C	D
19 Coverage: Popular Latin	A	A	C	C	E	E	C	D	D	B	D	B
20 Coverage: Technical Latin	A	B	C	C	B	C	B	D	D	B	C	A

*Notes on the criteria:*

4. Total number of entries in the Latin-English section, excluding proper names and cross-references; estimated from five successive pages in the *m*-section.

6. C-grade coverage is quite sufficient for an abridged dictionary. Further explanation of personal, mythological and geographical names can be left to commented texts or special handbooks.

8. Not an important criterion. Even the dictionaries which retain 18th-century spellings (assimilated forms, *poeniteo*, *arena*) generally provide cross-references (which is not always true of the modern dictionaries). Moreover, the older spelling is in some respects more accurate phonetically than the modern (in hexameter verse *abicit* is preferable to *abit*, *religio* to *religio*); critical editions even now are questioning the 19th-century standardizations of Brambach and others.

9. See above, on Handford compared with Simpson. Heinichen also merits an A-rating for its lengthy and detailed introduction, a phonological and morphological history of the Latin language to which constant and illuminating reference is made at every point in the dictionary. Ernout-Meillet and

Smith-Lockwood often comment on anomalies and are reliable on hidden quantities. None of the others deserves a higher rating than C, and Lewis-Short is notoriously inaccurate on quantities, even on some that are not hidden; see a recent note by D. A. Dilke, *Gar* 6 (1959) 212 f.

10. Ratings based on the extent to which variant forms (e.g., *posivi*, *postus*, *surrigo*) are noted either under a main entry (*pono*, *surgo*) or as cross-references. Though not exactly a matter of variant forms, it deserves note that Macfarlane and Kidd provide a welcome crutch for the learner by entering separate cross-references for "irregular" perfects of verbs.

11. Here again Heinichen takes the palm (see on 9 above). A student who has learned a basic stock of two or three thousand words and then masters the suffixes by means of such an analysis of word-formation can soon make himself independent of a dictionary for 95 per cent of his reading. Ernout-Meillet is excellent on anomalies of formation in relation to meaning, but assumes considerable knowledge on the part of the reader. Other dictionaries devote little or no attention to suffixes, though some to prefixes. Accordingly, I assign a C-rating to those few which

not only enter the inseparable preverb *re(d)-* but also note the meanings of other prefixes in compounds, including the most important meaning "up (from under)" for *su(bs)-*, as in *suffero*, *succedo*, *suspendo*.

12. Ratings based both on the extent to which etymologies are given and their correctness. Some give none at all (rated E); older dictionaries dabbled in Indo-European cognates and monosyllabic roots, with distressing results; but IE cognates are hardly necessary for the ordinary student, even when right (rated A). C-ratings are assigned to dictionaries which at least indicate Greek originals and basic Latin words with reasonable accuracy. It may be noted that though Simpson has corrected the spelling of *paeniteo* he still associates it with *poena*.

13. Romance derivatives are not merely of interest for the later history of Latin words but are often helpful in remembering meanings. Their inclusion on a fairly large scale is a commendable feature of Smith-Lockwood.

14. Some dictionaries, even though abridged, err by giving too many meanings, fostering mechanical habits instead of encouraging students to find for themselves the precise English word to fit a given context. A short list is generally sufficient, provided it covers the total range (here Ernout-Meillet leaves some loose ends) and is arranged perspicuously. *Laetus* is a good test-word. Is its central meaning "fat, sleek" given at all, and is it given as central rather than as some odd metaphor? Here Simpson is excellent (and Smith-Lockwood too).

15-16. Lewis-Short's wealth of illustrations with detailed references is unmatched elsewhere. Ernout-Meillet's references are often explicit, but the passages cited rather sketch a word's history than illustrate its usage. Many abridged dictionaries do at least as well with selected phrases, though their references to authors serve rather as guides to Latin composition than (as in Ernout-Meillet) to a word's character, spread and longevity.

17-20. Coverage. All dictionaries, even the most abridged, cover adequately the vocabulary of the standard authors (Cicero, Caesar, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy, etc.). Some of them (Lewis, Nall) reflect older curricula in deliberately excluding Plautine Latin and one or more of such authors as Lucretius, Catullus, Juvenal, Martial and Tacitus. Most of the abridged dictionaries likewise exclude Late Latin, though Kidd admits, e.g., *monachus*. On the other hand, many dictionaries take pride in listing very rare words, some of them *hapax legomena*, which do happen to occur in the accepted authors, e.g., *ma-*

*chaerophorus* (Cic.), *machinatrix* (Sen.), *macritudo* (Plaut.), *mactatus* (Lucr.), *manticinor* (Plaut.) and *multrarium* (Verg.); hence also *matta*, a good Late Latin word which used to be read at Ov. *Fast.* 6.680. It seems to me that this policy is questionable. Such extremely rare words are not needed in an abridged dictionary. If a little attention has been paid to word-formation, most of them can be guessed in context, and the rest are likely to receive comment in annotated texts. Moreover, if a student is really interested in learning the total resources of the Latin vocabulary, he will need to know about other words, common enough at certain levels or in certain areas of speech, but not well attested in the standard authors. I therefore attach particular importance to the ratings between 19 and 20, based on the coverage of such popular (not to say vulgar) words as *grossus* "fat," *lallo* "sing a lullaby," *manduco* "chew, eat" (replacing *edo*, especially after the Emperor Augustus took it up) and *mentula* (this one is often excluded, perhaps through prudery, but all the dictionaries include *merda*); and of such technical words as *cannabis* (-*bum*) "hemp," *machaera* "sword" (some dictionaries have *machaerophorus* but not *machaera!*), *mancipatus* "sale" and *meles* (*maeles*) "badger." I would even argue that a proper inventory of the Latin vocabulary should include such late or even medieval words as *camis(i)a*, *crena* and *griseus*, which are important in modern technical Latin and, more or less transformed, in modern vernaculars—provided, of course, that they are set off from the normal vocabulary by some typographical device, as in Heinichen.

By way of conclusion, I now recommend some "Best Buys":

1. For the advanced student, including every teacher of Latin, Lewis-Short is still indispensable and will remain so even after the appearance of the Oxford Latin Dictionary—if and when it appears. (It is certain that the *Thesaurus* will not be completed in my lifetime.) And at the price (less than ten cents per ounce of information!) it is by far the best value. Its faults, however, must be corrected by constant reference to Ernout-Meillet.

2. For the intermediate student, beginning a college Latin course, I would recommend Smith-Lockwood, if only it

were available in this country. (The publishers inform me that an American edition will soon be issued by Barnes & Noble.)

3. As it is, the best value for such a student is probably Handford, especially if the instructor provides drills on word-formation drawn from, e.g., L. R. Palmer, *The Latin Language* (London: Faber & Faber, 1954) pp. 233-40, or E. L. Johnson, *Latin Words of Common English* (Boston: Heath, 1931). Every teacher should possess and use this book, which, fortunately, is still in print (\$3.75). The student will also need to buy a classical dictionary for looking up proper names.

4. For the student who must also have an English-Latin section, as for Latin composition, the choice lies between Simpson and Kidd. Though Simpson offers better value by the scale of cost per ounce, the difference in absolute cost is so great that I think I would choose Kidd.

5. Macfarlane, however, is recommended for a botanist, biologist, or medical student who wants to read (and write) Latin.

6. For those who already have a dictionary and must weigh it against the cost of a new one, I would rank the older dictionaries as follows, in order of decreasing desirability: White, Merchant-Charles, Lewis, and Nall.

7. Those, however, who now rely on either of the dictionaries mentioned at the end of the list above (Provost and Ottenheimer), should throw them away and start over again.

8. The ideal desk-size Latin dictionary does not yet exist in English. It would follow the general plan of Heinichen, including its elaborate introduction, with perhaps some modification in coverage, dropping *hapax legomena* and substituting longer-lived words drawn from Ernout-Meillet.

*University of Illinois*

## we see by the papers

editor RICHARD M. FRAZER, JR.

### THE POPULARITY OF LATIN

*The study of languages in the high school is on the rise, and Latin ranks second in popularity. From the New York Times, September 11:*

FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY is gaining in the American high school, with signs that the National Defense Education Act will dramatically speed the process. In the first nationwide study of foreign language enrollments in public secondary schools to be undertaken since 1954, Wesley Childers, director of research for the Modern Language Association of America, reports a gain of 3.2 per cent between 1954 and the fall of 1958.

Foreign language enrollments in grades nine through twelve by that time had reached almost two million and comprised 24.3 per cent of the total high school population in those grades. Since some students study more than one language, the actual count of the number of language students may be somewhat smaller than those figures.

Of the total number, 1,300,882 were studying modern languages.

In order of popularity, Spanish led the list, being studied by 8.8 per cent of the high school population. It is followed by Latin (7.8 per cent); French (6.1 per cent); German (1.2 per cent); Italian (0.3 per cent); Russian (0.05 per cent).

*Our next item (contributed by Professor G. W. Regenos of Tulane University) deals only with Latin and appeared in Time, August 22, under the title, "Roman Holiday."*

AS THE BIG BUSES from 32 states rolled into Albuquerque last week, 1,129 teenage voices inside howled in eerie chorus. The tunes sounded oddly like *Hail, Hail, The Gang's All Here* and *Let Me Call You Sweetheart*. They came out as "*Io, Io, omnes adsunt/ Quid curae est nobis/ Quid curae est nobis . . .*" and "*Vocabo te amicam/ Ego amo te/ Audiam te dicere/ Te amare me . . .*" It was the Junior Classical League, holding its seventh national convention at the University of New Mexico.

Latin is supposedly dead; half the coun-

try's public high school youngsters studied it in 1900; only 6.9 per cent did in 1955. But those for whom it is a living language have increased their ardor. The Junior Classical League, which had 11,000 members ten years ago, now has 74,634, and chapters in 46 states. Some 475,000 high school students will take Latin this year, and classicists say that the number would double if there were enough teachers to go around.

Last week, in togas and sandals, the Junior Classical League delegates made New Mexico's neo-Pueblo campus look like a set from *Ben-Hur*. Gorged on deviled eggs in the Student Union, supine banqueters cheered a female snake dancer. Borne on a litter into the football stadium, purple-robed League President Ernest ("The Emperor") Polansky, 18, gave his pagan blessing to Olympic games, complete with chariot races. In deadly earnest, white-robed candidates for top offices politicked in the ballroom. Taking no chances, they made their convention pitches in English.

Nearly all the 155 adults chaperoning these proceedings believed that they saw a rebirth of Latin back home. In Charleston, S.C., Latin was so unpopular six years ago that it was almost dropped; now one school has 88 Latin students. Arkansas has 69 Latin teachers, could use 32 more. In missile-minding Cheyenne, Wyo., sons of the Air Force's Atlas tenders are stoutly conjugating *mittere* ("to send"). But apparently, only a few youngsters mull over the ablative absolute out of sheer joy. Said Teacher Belle Gould of Henderson (Texas) High School last week: "Some of my students asked at mid-term if they could drop Latin and still come to this convention. I said no. So they stayed with Latin, and it didn't hurt them a bit."

### ROMAN RUINS OUTSIDE ITALY

*You do not have to go to Italy to study Roman ruins. From the Times-Picayune (New Orleans), August 28:*

Visitors to Europe who are attracted by

the romance of Roman history need not despair if their limited itineraries can't be stretched down the Italian peninsula to Padua, Paestum and Pompeii.

Ancient Romans held the complacent view that it was their duty to "civilize" their contemporaries. Imperial legions spread themselves from the edges of the Sahara to Northern Britain, and left abundant examples of their architectural and engineering genius.

Additional remains are often unearthed. Excavation for a large office building in the heart of London a few years ago uncovered a splendid Mithraic temple which was removed intact to Cintling House in nearby Wallbrook St. where it is now on view.

In Southwest England a "must" is a visit to Bath, where magnificently preserved Roman baths or thermae have flowed with undiminished regularity throughout Britain's history. England has equally fascinating traces of Roman occupation at Colchester (Camulodunum) and St. Albans (Verulamium), both convenient to London. The British Travel Association has compiled a suggested itinerary for visiting the northern walls and forts, temples, forums, theaters, even a lighthouse still standing to a height of 40 feet.

Elsewhere in Europe the first step taken by the Romans in civilizing the tribes they had subdued was generally to put them to work constructing aqueducts.

In Spain you'll find breathtaking, soaring aqueducts at Segovia and Tarragona. They cross heights greater than any in Italy and, in consequence, their arches were built in two stories.

Probably the most majestic aqueduct is the Pont-du-Gard — a never-failing subject for artists — which originally brought water from Uzes to Nimes in the south of France. Yet, if the Pont-du-Gard is the most beautiful, visitors restricted to the north of France should take satisfaction in knowing that the aqueduct at Metz is hardly less rewarding.

It's a rare traveler in France who does not stop once in Paris, whose Roman remains too frequently are overshadowed by more famous attractions surrounding them. A forum and temple with a basilica have been discovered, as well as baths. A small theater was found in the Rue Racine. Two structures still above ground are the theater-cum-amphitheater, known as the Arènes de Lutèce in Rue Monge, and the great edifice now forming part of the Cluny museum. No other Gallo-Roman structure of the same size as the latter

has been as well preserved, even the roof being complete.

At Rheims, after the cathedral, see the Pont de Mars, a splendid triumphal arch with three passageways. Another imposing example, erected by Marcus Aurelius, stands at Orange, where a theater with original decorative sculpture remaining and the foundations of a temple deserve attention.

The great Gallic examples of Roman architecture are at Provence. No Roman arena in the world is in better condition than that at Nimes. Like the Amphitheater in nearby Arles, it is still used for spectacles and festivals. A temple at Nimes is preserved.

Wealthy Roman merchants of these commercial cities escaped for long week ends to the resort town of Vaison-la-Romaine, where they disported themselves in the seas which caress the modern Riviera. The lavish Villa des Messii, with its elaborate mosaic baths and a kitchen way ahead of its time, is one of the excavations here which provide a picture of early international high-life in "The Cannes of Roman Gaul."

Scarcely less nourishing to Roman egos than their arches of triumph were military memorials — classically represented by the columns of Trajan and Antonine in Rome — upon which the most detailed records of campaigns could be carved. Excellent specimens in Southern France are at St. Remi and La Turbie.

Across the German frontier — southwest along the Moselle from Coblenz — is the site of Augusta Treverorum, the oldest town of Germany, now called Trier. Here are more Roman architectural monuments than in any European city north of the Alps. A Roman gateway with inner and outer double entrance, Porta Nigra, is still in use, and the Imperial Baths are the best-preserved outside of Italy.

#### PRESBYOPIA

*From the University Report, July, 1960, the alumni bulletin of the University of North Carolina, comes the following article with reference to Professor B. L. Ullman's new book, The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script.*

PETRARCH was irked. "I can't read that handwriting," he complained. "It looks like hen scratching."

His assistant and copyist shrugged. "That's

the way we've been writing it for hundreds of years," he said.

Petrarch admitted that was right. "It's just that I am growing old, and my eyesight is fading. In short, I have presbyopia," he said.

Petrarch was like a lot of the older writers in the 14th Century. Gothic writing was hard to read at best, even worse when one's eyesight grew dim with advancing age.

"In 1400 it was easier to change handwriting than to change glasses," writes Kenan Professor Emeritus B. L. Ullman of UNC in his book, "The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script."

A change in handwriting is exactly what was accomplished. Dr. Ullman ascribes the reform chiefly to Salutati, the Chancellor of Florence. Salutati left his chief work to his young disciple and assistant, Poggio, who developed the new script which spread quickly through Florence and Italy.

#### GREECE TODAY

*The two selections below show the continuity between the Greece of the past and the Greece of the present. The first is from an article by Eric Forbes-Boyd entitled "The Athenian Perambulator" appearing in The Christian Science Monitor, August 19.*

IT IS TRUE that the police in Athens do their best to hold the scales level, to give everyone a fair deal and discourage any overweening pretensions on the part of the pedestrian. They have a rule under which pedestrians are not supposed to cross the road where there is a traffic policeman on duty, until this officer has blown a whistle.

Now these Greek policemen are imposing figures, equipped with shining helmets, and when controlling traffic they are on occasions mounted on a tub, whence they regard the populace with a glance as austere as that of Diogenes. But the Athenians are by no means overawed by their police, and usually contrive to turn the crossing-by-whistle into, not perhaps a farce, but at least a light comedy.

In the first act, pedestrians begin to gather on the pavement, anxious to cross. Authority ignores them, and waves on the wheeled traffic with a lordly gesture, as Hector of the flashing helm might have summoned his Trojan chariots for the onset.

In the second act, pedestrians pile up, and the tension grows: Hector, inwardly aware of this, continues sternly to disregard the footmen, and to urge on the chariots with actions that grow more and more sweeping and vehement, so that any moment, it seems, he may be transformed from Hector to Zeus with his thunderbolt.

Climax comes in the third act. The tension is no longer to be borne. The line of footmen curves forward like corn beneath the wind. Come what may they will wait no longer — are they not Athenian citizens, and busy ones at that! In vain does Hector, determined to cling to his prerogative, flail the air wildly. The footmen are on the move! The chariots are halted! All is lost save honor — but not honor; for at the last possible moment Hector blows his whistle shrilly. A blast that brings down the curtain on universal rejoicing. Honor is satisfied! Face is saved! The footmen are across; the chariots content after a good inning; and Hector beams on everyone impartially, conscious of superb technique that has snatched prestige from the very edge of disaster.

One might perhaps look askance upon such a state of affairs in any other capital city, and consider that possibly the pedestrians were getting a trifle too big for their boots; but in Athens one cannot possibly feel this. For after all this is a custom that goes back three thousand years and more: it was among the pedestrians in the streets of Athens that democracy was perhaps first debated, that Socrates asked his shattering questions, that the sophists lectured, and the people gathered to discuss the latest war news from Syracuse.

It is time immemorial that sanctions the claim of the Athenian pedestrian to his streets; and just as tradition permits certain English regiments to march through the City of London with colors flying and bayonets fixed, so, one feels, it permits the Athenian citizen to use the streets as a natural annex to his living quarters, where he may stroll at will!

As one looks back, one gets the impression that the chariot, the litter, and the horse never invaded ancient Athens as they did ancient Rome: Athens was always a city of walkers and talkers. And today this same impression is an endearing characteristic that does succeed in reminding one now and again of those days in classical Athens when they walked and talked to such tremendous effect.

*The second selection is from a book review*

(Time, July 18) of Mani by Patrick Leigh Fermor.

"WHEN God had finished making the world," say the natives of Mani, "he had a sack of stones left over and he emptied it here." Petroprolific Mani is the middle tine of a twisted three-pronged peninsular fork that jabs into the Mediterranean from Greece's Peloponnesus. About as remote from the 20th century as the people of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Maniots dwell in a kind of telescopic time capsule that includes Homer but little more than a hint of the Industrial Revolution. Few Maniots read or write. They have no radios, movies or telephones, and the family vehicle is the donkey. Matching the man of Aran in his barebones existence, the Maniot is scorched black by the fierce summer sun and lashed in winter by the *tramontana*, a fearsome wind that tosses marble slabs about like pebbles.

Old Maniots are convinced that Nereids haunt the local fountains, and mothers believe that the three Fates hover over an infant's cradle to write invisible destinies on the child's brow (moles are known as "writings of the Fates"). Seafarers claim

that Gorgons grip their caiques in a storm and ask in ringing tones, "Where is Alexander the Great?" If the captain shouts, "Alexander the Great lives and reigns!", the sea turns calm. Otherwise, the Gorgon tilts the boat toward sea bottom, and all hands drown.

Mani's most cherished art form is the *miroloy*, the dirge with which keening womenfolk usher the Maniot out of a harsh world that neither man nor God seemingly made. More a lament for a hero being taken to the underworld than for a Christian going to his reward — even as she makes the sign of the cross, the grieving widow will say, "Charon took him" — the *miroloy* mirrors in its 16-syllable line the lament of Andromache over the body of Hector. At graveside, the chief mourner's voice becomes a howl of hysteria ("Oh, my warrior! The arch and pillar of our house!"), her hair tumbles in disorder, and she tears at her cheeks with her fingernails till they are crisscrossed with red gashes and running with tears and blood. In the mesmeric half-trance of the dirge, the singer has been known to drift far out and lament high taxes, the price of salt, the need for roads, and the Bulgarian frontier — all in faultless couplets.

# BOOK REVIEWS

editor FRED W. HOUSEHOLDER, JR.

**Oedipus and Akhnaton: Myth and History,** by IMMANUEL VELIKOVSKY. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1960. Illustrated. \$4.95.

MR. VELIKOVSKY is the author of *Worlds in Collision, Ages in Chaos and Earth in Upheaval*. In the first of these he undertook to prove that all the myths of universal flood and fire are literally true and refer to a time when a huge comet struck the earth and then bounced off to swing into orbit as the planet Venus. But, as a reviewer pointed out, he overlooked one thing in his exposition: he did not calculate the force of impact that such a collision of planets must have effected. Now Mr. Velikovsky has published a book which essays to prove that the Oedipus story is true. Only it wasn't a king in Boeotian Thebes who did these deeds, but a king in Egyptian Thebes, none other than the heretic Pharaoh, Akhnaton.

There are several puzzles in the archaeological and other evidence concerning Akhnaton and his family; that is not surprising when one considers the nature of the evidence and the numerous gaps in our knowledge of all ancient persons. But since this is Akhnaton, the puzzles become "mysteries," and Velikovsky solves the "mysteries" by manipulating the evidence in such a way as to show similarities to the Oedipus legend. Suddenly the parallel is established to his satisfaction, and then he uses the Oedipus legend to fill the gaps in our knowledge of Akhnaton's reign.

What do we have to go on? Both Akhnaton and Oedipus lived in cities called Thebes by the Greeks; both cities had several gates; and there were Sphinxes around both. The Egyptians called their city No-Amon. Since the Greeks called it Thebes, they might conceivably have confused its historical traditions with those of Boeotian Thebes. Then, Akhnaton erased the *Amen* part of his father's name *Amenhotep* and changed his own name from Amenhotep to Akhnaton. That was something like killing his father. But aside from Thebes, Sphinxes and the erasure of *Amen*, what do we have?

There is no certainty that Akhnaton was reared away from home, or that he married his mother Tiy and begot a child upon her, or that Smenkhkare and Tutankhamen were his sons, or that these two were broth-

ers, or that they fought each other, or that Akhnaton was deposed and wandered in exile, or that he became blind, or that Ay (equated with Creon) was Tiy's brother. Some of these are probable conjectures (and are not Velikovsky's conjectures); others are dubious indeed. As for a refusal of Ay to bury Smenkhkare and a sister's burial of him, all that is the purest conjecture, based upon the peculiarities of Smenkhkare's tomb and coffin and the find of a pit which might be a tomb, and which, owing to certain objects found in it, Velikovsky identifies with the place where the Egyptian Antigone was entombed alive. Now whereas Polyneices' sister had the easy task of pouring some dust on her brother's body, the Egyptian princess, we are asked to believe, managed to embalm the body, wrap it and get it into a coffin and a tomb — though, it seems, she took the first coffin and tomb that came handy. She was by no means an expert at the mortician's craft, according to Velikovsky; nevertheless she did what filial piety demanded and saved her brother from whatever disadvantages his unburied, unembalmed condition might have caused him in the Egyptian otherworld.

Velikovsky turns up a Tiresias too, the seer Amenhotep, Hapu's son, who was patron of the blind and lived in the time of Akhnaton's father. The only trouble is this: what did he have to do with Akhnaton? When he last appears in the record, he was eighty years old in the thirty-fourth year of Amenhotep III's reign; but what is easier than to assume that he lived at least eighteen years longer, down to the time of Akhnaton's young successors? Nothing is easier, and so we have an historical Tiresias who supported Creon and Eteocles against Oedipus and Polyneices, which is even more than the legendary Tiresias did.

Now, if Akhnaton and his family were mythical or legendary figures, then we might legitimately take the fragments of the Akhnaton story and compare it with other stories. Since there is a limited number of myth patterns, we might find that it most nearly resembled the Oedipus pattern, as far as we could judge from our incomplete knowledge. But we cannot do that sort of thing with historical narrative. History is intractable, and we cannot fill the gaps in our knowledge by appeal

to a myth or legend that is historically unrelated; it is dangerous to try to do so even when there is an historical relation, as of the Charlemagne legend to the history of Charlemagne's reign.

But Velikovsky is not engaged in comparative mythology. For him the Oedipus legend is a faithful account of the reigns of Akhnaton and his successors, aside from the Greek scene and the changes of names. Yet even the Greek names are significant for him. *Creon*, of course, is Greek for *Pharaoh*, and *Oedipous* (Swell-foot) is obviously a translation of Akhnaton's Egyptian nickname, referring to his thick hips. That is, it is obvious to Velikovsky, who says that in Greek, *póus* may mean both foot and leg (pp. 56 f.). True enough, *póus* may be used for the leg below the knee, but it is never used for hip or thigh. Velikovsky cites the Sphinx's riddle as proof that *póus* means leg. One might reply that men walk on their feet, and that foot is the obvious meaning of the second element in *tetrápon*, *dipoun* and *trípon* of the riddle. And Oedipus was pierced through his ankles. Velikovsky apparently includes Greek among the "many languages that do not have different words for legs and feet." He apparently does not know the word *skélos*.

In fact, it is apparent that Velikovsky knows no Greek. Aside from the tragedians and the *Odyssey*, quoted in other men's translations, he never cites Greek writers. He occasionally mentions Pausanias or Apollodorus or another, but apparently he has not gone to even a translation of their works; for whenever he refers to one of them he cites Nilsson or Gruppe or Roscher's *Lexikon* or the like. His lack of familiarity with Greek sources is evident in such sentences as "In an ancient scholium Antigone was accused, etc." (p. 165). He has not understood the meaning of *scholia vetera*. Again, since Akhnaton spoke of the sun as his father, Velikovsky is overjoyed to find that Oedipus "is also called in some ancient sources the son of Helios (sun)" (p. 71). He cites the articles "Oedipus" in Roscher and Pauly-Wissowa. Actually, there is only one source, an apparently corrupt sentence in the scholia on Euripides' *Phoenissae* 28. Velikovsky constantly refers to Sophocles' three Theban plays as a trilogy, unaware that this term means only three connected plays presented on the same day. He places Mount Cithaeron between Boeotia and Corinth (p. 36). On the same page he says that the Thebans "supported the cause of the Persians and fought on their side at Ther-

mopylae"; he has apparently not read Herodotus' account of the battle. And he implies that this was part of Thebes' war on Athens and Sparta. He says (p. 205) that there were no "monuments or tombs of the heroes of the Oedipus legend in Boeotia," nor "any cult connected with their memory in classical times." But he has already mentioned that Oedipus had a tomb at Eteonos in Boeotia (p. 21), and his statement overlooks the tombs of Oedipus' sons at Thebes (Paus. 9. 18. 3).

He speaks of "legendary clichés," one of which is "the departure of a famous royal personage, at the sunset of his life, from his home into wandering and exile accompanied by a . . . daughter" (p. 173). He cites the last days of Tolstoy and Freud as examples of this "legendary cliché," but no legends aside from the legend of Oedipus. He might have cited Little Nell and her grandfather, but, of course, they are not properly legendary either. This is not a commonplace of legend.

But why go on with pointing out errors? To point out all mistakes and misleading statements would take more space than the book is worth. There is something wrong with nearly everything that he says on Greek subjects, and though I am not an Egyptologist, I can see that he is little, if at all, sounder on Egyptian subjects.

He is no better on psychoanalysis. In what sense can Oedipus be called one of Freud's heroes (pp. 12, 197)? And it is not accurate to say that Freud saw in Oedipus "the symbolic figure of sinner, tortured by the sinful . . . urges, etc." since it is completely contrary to Freud's theory and practice to speak of urges and impulses as sinful. And to say of Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* that it is "his degradation of Moses. He degraded him by denying him originality; simultaneously he degraded the Jewish people by denying them a leader of their own race [sic], . . . and finally he degraded the Jewish God, making of Yahweh a local deity, an evil spirit of Mount Sinai. On the eve of his departure from a long life he had to blast the Hebrew God, demote his prophet, . . ." (p. 198)—to say this is to misunderstand and to misrepresent Freud's thesis, as I think that any fair-minded reader of *Moses and Monotheism* would say, whether he agrees with Freud or not.

Now in this criticism of Freud we see the tendentious quality of Velikovsky's writings. In his earlier books he wanted to show that Old Testament stories, particularly the Moses story, are true. That is why his books were published; there is always a big market for that sort of thing.

Here he wants to prove the Oedipus story true and show that it is the story of Akhnaton, and thereby to dispel any admiration for Akhnaton as a religious innovator and founder of monotheism; he wants to show that Akhnaton was an incestuous, neurotic (perhaps psychotic), misshapen, unhappy and unpleasant king, a person from whom neither Moses nor anybody else could possibly have learned anything about true religion. In fact, Velikovsky wants to date Moses long before Akhnaton's reign (p. 68), so that there will be no chance of his having been contaminated. He says that Akhnaton's religion was not monotheism but monolatry; whether he is right or not, he appears not to realize that the early Yahwistic religion of the Hebrews was also monolatrous.

Whereas Lord Raglan refuses to see the least crumb of history in legends, Velikovsky wants to prove that legends are almost entirely true. Even details of the Attic tragedians' dramatic treatment of the Oedipus legend are, he believes, faithful memories of events that occurred nine centuries earlier. The "halter of fine linen," by which Jocasta hanged herself in Sophocles' play, is probably one of "the

long strips of fine linen torn from the sheet and missing in the pit-tomb in the Valley of the Kings" (p. 166). The hair which Euripides' Jocasta cut off is that lock of Queen Tiy's hair which was found in a small box in Tutankhamen's tomb.

Velikovsky is a bit naive when he sets up the historicity of the Oedipus story as a "problem." Very typical of his appeal to vague authority is his statement, "This question of the historicity of the Oedipus story has long occupied the minds of classical scholars, but no lead has ever been found" (p. 20). I don't know of anybody who has "occupied" his mind with this particular "question." Velikovsky cites nobody; it is the sort of statement that one finds in poor term papers.

Velikovsky fails to consider such myths of father-murder and mother-son incest as the Sumerian myth of An, Ki and Enlil, or the Greek myths of Uranos, Ge and Kronos, and of Kronos, Rhea and Zeus (Ge and Rhea may justifiably be equated). If Velikovsky wants an Egyptian origin for Oedipus, he might point to the hippopotamus Set who mated with his mother. If we look upon the Oedipus myth as a secularized combination of three or four themes:

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Uranos-Ge-Kronos, inescapable fate, the brothers' quarrel (i.e., Cain and Abel, or in Greek terms Kaanthos and Ismenos, a Theban myth)—to which may be added the ogress who forces wayfarers into a contest—we can account, I believe, for about everything in it, and we need not look for historical origins.

As for the style in which the book is written, the critics of Velikovsky's earlier books must write poorly indeed if what Clifton Fadiman says on the jacket about his style is true, ". . . he writes about fifty times as well as most of his critics." I may be no judge of writing, but I see little but awkward and fuzzy sentences, full of abstract nouns, expressed in the passive voice whenever possible. His writing teems with such words as "situation," "approach," "basis," "circumstances," "matter." For example, "The Iranians . . . had an approach to the problem of incest very different from that of other peoples of antiquity. They had an ethical religious concept and practice . . ." (p. 99). Was incest a "problem" for them if they accepted it? And the "approach" turns out to be practice of incest. "The oracle revealed that he would die a predestined death. The prophecy was made to the king, his father, before the son was born, a beginning not unlike the setting of the oracular prophecy made to King Laius" (p. 118). Of course, for Velikovsky, an oracle is person. "The effort made in *Ages in Chaos* to discover the correct order of centuries and dynasties in many instances rehabilitates the 'father of history'" (p. 120). He doesn't tell us that he made the effort. "When Oedipus once more is supposed to lose his life following the disclosure of the oracle, expulsion again comes in lieu of death" (p. 172 f.). "It is generally accepted that Akhnaton was deposed, and the idea has been repeatedly expressed that he went into exile" (p. 117)—vague authority again; and only one citation is made in the footnote. And what in the world does Velikovsky mean by "a personification of Hera," when he says that "some students of classical mythology" have seen such a thing in Jocasta (p. 28)? He cites only Gruppe, who does not say that, nor does Gruppe call Hera "the goddess of earth." Again, what does Velikovsky mean by saying, "Hathor was the feminine personification of Horus" (p. 34)? He has an ancient historian's name down as *Hellenicos*; he should learn that a c does not consist with os: one must write either *Hellenikos* or *Hellenicus*.

I am afraid that I can find no merit in

this book. I cannot even say that it has an index.

JOSEPH FONTENROSE

*University of California*

**The Bronze God of Rhodes**, by L. SPRAGUE DE CAMP. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1960. Pp. 406. \$4.50.

THIS WORK, the second historical novel from the prolific pen of Mr. de Camp, illustrates what a literate writer with a good imagination and a willingness to utilize ancient authorities can accomplish. In the "Author's Note" at the end of the book, he lists the available sources and catalogues the historical characters who appear. The most valuable source for both the history and the fiction is Plutarch's *Demetrius*, but the author clearly indicates that he has read widely in the ancient historians, geographers and technical writers; there are, as well, many echoes of philosophers, dramatists and poets.

Some may insist that de Camp injects purely modern aspects into the ancient world (e.g., the parking problem in Memphis, or the interest in attracting tourists); others may consider too hackneyed a few episodes (particularly the fight in the Colossus); still others may argue that the plot-line is rather weak and amateurish (a man, Chares, trying to make his mark in his home town). Such objections, however, will pale when the reader regards the book *in toto*, for, above all else, he will realize that he has met an array of fascinating characters in a very cosmopolitan world.

The portrayal of character is de Camp's forte, and the fact that the ten chapters are named for ten characters would seem to indicate that the author himself is chiefly interested in depicting people of all ranks. Thus, the major figures are all neatly presented, often in their own appraisals of themselves. To cite but a few examples: Chares, the sassy young man who sets out to reform sculpture; Kallias, the oily politician with the motto, "the best equipment for life is effrontery"; Ptolemaios, who admits that he could never win a beauty contest; and Kavaros, the Keltic slave who has a story for every occasion. The minor characters, too, add much flavor: Damophilos the Rhodian, Onas the Egyptian, Berosos the Babylonian, Demetrios of Phaleron and Azarias of Judea.

The plot basically consists of four



holding a firm place . . .

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searches: Chares for acceptance as a sculptor and full citizen, Demetrios for the capture of Rhodes, the Rhodian embassy in Egypt for a stolen robe, and Tis for Chares with intent to murder. Two end in success, two in failure.

The general reader may feel somewhat overwhelmed by the Greek spellings of names, by the manner of reckoning months and years, and by the technical knowledge displayed by the author, but these constitute only small hurdles in following the action.

ROBERT E. WOLVERTON

Tufts University

**The Face of the Ancient Orient**, by SABATINO MOSCATI. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960. Pp. xvi, 328. 32 plates, map, 5 plans.

This is a very readable translation of the author's *Il profilo dell'Oriente Mediterraneo*, published in Italy in 1958. As the subtitle (A Panorama of Near Eastern Civilizations in Pre-Classical Times) suggests, the author has attempted to present to the educated English-reading audience an up-to-date account of what we know at the present time about the history and culture of the peoples of the Ancient Near East. The period involved reaches from the beginnings of recorded history down to the victory of Alexander the Great over the Persians. The peoples involved include the Sumerians, Babylonians and Assyrians, Egyptians, Hittites and Hurrians, Canaanites and Aramaeans, Israelites, and Persians. A separate chapter is devoted to each of the above-mentioned groups, in which the author deals in order with the political history, religion, literature and art of each. The stress is not on mere exposition of facts, but rather on the elucidation of the various types or genres of political, religious, literary and artistic activity among the diverse peoples of the Ancient Near East. Original texts are liberally quoted, mainly from the up-to-date translations edited by J. B. Pritchard in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Thirty-two excellently reproduced plates illustrate the discussions of architecture and art. Footnotes, not exhaustive, but adequate for the serious neophyte, indicate the primary and secondary sources where fuller information on a particular subject may be found. An index and map complete the nicely-bound volume.

Moscati presents the history of the Ancient Near East to the reader using an analogy drawn from chemistry. According to

his view, the reagents are the valley civilizations, Mesopotamia and Egypt. The catalysts are the desert and mountain peoples. The Persians, the last in a chain of catalytic agents, produce the final synthesis. The resulting compound, however, is unstable and quickly breaks down.

Viewing the history of the Ancient Near East from a "panoramic" view, the chemical analogy used by Moscati seems to have a certain validity. The analogy, however (as is the case with most analogies), must not be pressed too far. In the chemical catalytic process the catalyst hastens the reaction desired but remains itself chemically unchanged. The catalysts of Moscati, however, underwent important changes when they came into combination with the riverine reagents.

Though the history of the Ancient Near East will be continually revised and completed as new discoveries pour in from the multitudinous untouched mounds dotting the Near Eastern landscape, we know enough now for preliminary syntheses of the cultures which preceded and influenced Greek and consequently all western civilization. The reader will certainly welcome Moscati's book as one of the few existing attempts in English to carry the thread of our cultural heritage back to the valleys of the Nile, Tigris and Euphrates, where, indeed, it was first spun.

STEPHEN D. SIMMONS

University of Texas

**The Athenian Citizen**, by MABEL LANG. Excavations of the Athenian Agora: Picture Book Number 4. Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1960. Pp. 32. Illustrated. \$50.

BY MAKING a careful selection of the more outstanding finds related to the administration of the city and by adding a simple narrative into which these monuments are carefully woven, Miss Lang has presented us with an attractive introduction to the public life of the Athenian citizen. A decree from 330 B.C. tells us of the Athenian draft. The remains of the Tholos and Bouleuterion show us where the various government bodies resided and met. Public records, such as the Treaty with Hermione concluded about 450 B.C., are tangible products of the activity of government. The Athenian mint with its numerous half-made coins brings up the question of Athenian finance. The elaborate precautions taken by Athenians to protect themselves

against dishonest peddlers are vividly brought to our attention by the many official bronze weights and liquid and dry measures that were kept in the Agora. The kleroterion, ballots and water clock confirm much of what we read in literary sources about procedure in the law courts of Athens. The Eponymous Heroes, a casualty list and the Spartan shield from Pylos indicate the great variety of public monuments that were once in evidence in this city center of Athens.

The narrative that accompanies the illustrations makes this the most useful of the pamphlets that have appeared in this series. The high school or college teacher who has to deal with Greek history on an introductory level will find here not only a useful summary of the activities of the Athenian citizen, but an excellent example of why archaeologists dig.

EDWIN S. RAMAGE  
Indiana University

**The Odes and Epodes of Horace, A New Translation**, by JOSEPH P. CLANCY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. Pp. 257. \$6.00.

OPPOSING THE TITLE PAGE of Mr. Clancy's new translation of Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes* appears Edward Fitzgerald's proverb: "Better a live Sparrow than a stuffed Eagle." The choice and the inconspicuous placement of this motto reveal the translator's modesty as well as his wit, qualities which appear throughout the work. By not claiming too much, by admitting the inherent distance between reach and grasp that affects translating as well as moral man, Mr. Clancy ends with a handful of solid Horatian worth.

His brief general introduction contains the most sensible criticism of Horace I know; I would say it alone was worth the price if I did not think the book overpriced. (There is a paperbound edition at \$1.95, still high for a paperback; one would like to see this book in the hands of students as well as of reviewers.) Mr. Clancy, in treating Horace as a poet, uses both classical and contemporary standards of criticism in a manner that shows modern humanism at its best. Without an esoteric parade of jargon he is able to be impressively clear and sensitive. Teachers who wish to introduce their students to Horace's poetic variety, tone, aim and achievement can turn to no better compact source than Mr. Clancy's introduction.

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The translations themselves are, as one would expect, unequal to Horace—surely the most difficult poet in the world to translate. While F. P. A. has successfully caught some sense of Horatian frivolity and wit, and while A. E. Housman has given us one rare sample of the Horatian elegiac mode, no one has ever done justice to Horace's solemnity (3. 22), urbanity (2. 11), savagery (4. 3) and passion (1. 37). It is not enough to convey these qualities in individual poems—we might name many solitary instances of excellent translations of each quality—but one must also convey to the English reader how Horace often combines several or all of these qualities in one poem. Mr. Clancy knows this difficulty, as well as the even harder one of successfully translating the logic of Horatian themes, both in one poem and in one book of poems. How, for example, does one explain, much less translate, such Keatsian touches as (4. 1. 37-40):

nocturnis ego somniis  
iam captum teneo, iam volucrem sequor  
te par gramina Martii  
Campi, te per aquas, dure, volubiles.

And this in a poem which is obviously,

among other things, a piece of social grace, a compliment, and a Thackerayan recognition of the past prime.

Mr. Clancy makes no claim to have met all these difficulties. Instead, he gives us, in an idiom built on the principle of the Chicago school of translators (Richmond Lattimore, David Grene, et al.), a readable contemporary rendering: "I have used the word-order and diction of ordinary American speech as a basis, departing from it where a special heightening was demanded" (p. 7).

His meters also are readable, a compromise between accentual and traditional English ones and the original classic ones. Their appearance on the page will satisfy both the classicist and the general reader: in short, an illusion of a poetic line is given that is both familiar and strange. I append a brief specimen to show both the virtues and the vices of Mr. Clancy's efforts (l. 37, the first stanza and the last two):

Now for a drinking spree, now for a loose-footed  
light fantastic, now is the time to pay  
our debt to the gods, my friends,  
and spread a spectacular banquet.

\* \* \*

Her courage was great: she looked on her  
fallen  
palace, a smile still on her face, and boldly

played with the venomous serpents,  
her flesh drinking their bitter poison,  
so highly she dared, her mind set on her  
death.  
Not for her the enemy ship, the crownless  
voyage, her role in the grand  
parade: she was no weak-kneed  
woman.

If the levels of diction in the first stanza are too disparate ("drinking spree" and "loose-footed light fantastic"), the movement of the last two stanzas conveys a real sense of the smouldering, sullen grandeur that was the defeated Cleopatra. "Weak-kneed" is almost *curiosa felicitas*, and is like one of those common Latin words which Horace converts to both a jewel and a *bon mot*: it recalls Cleopatra's beauty and pride, leaving in the background of the imagination the picture of a Roman triumph, in which captive kings knelt.

Mr. Clancy's translations all contain both kinds of attainment; but the good outweighs the bad, and he is always trying. Since the tries are always based on real perceptions, even the failures have merit. And the successes are very good indeed.

JOHN CROSSETT

Hamilton College

**FIFTY-SEVENTH**  
**ANNUAL MEETING**  
*of the*  
**CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION**  
**OF THE MIDDLE WEST**  
**AND SOUTH**  
**Cleveland, Ohio**  
**April 6-8, 1961**

The Headquarters Hotel will be  
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*The complete program will reach  
you early in March.*

**TI KATA TINOS: Eine Untersuchung zu Struktur und Ursprung aristotelischer Grundbegriffe**, by ERNST TUGENDHAT. Symposium: Philosophische Schriftenreihe, No. 2. Freiburg and München: Verlag Karl Alber, 1958. Pp. x, 160.

THIS DISSERTATION is introduced by the observation that the fundamental concepts of Aristotle's metaphysics (substance, essence, category, etc.) have been taken largely for granted, so that "as long as the metaphysical tradition remained unbroken" (i.e., down to Hegel), Aristotle was to a great extent explained in his own terms. Tugendhat sees the opportunity now to probe deeper, examining the basic meaning and justification of these concepts themselves.

Studying Aristotle's analyses of the problems of the relationship between the one and the many and of the relation of being as being to being as apprehended, he concentrates especially on the treatment of the doctrine of substance in *Metaphysics Zeta*. Aristotle saw ontological significance, he thinks, in the formulation *ti katá tinos* ("something about something") which has usually been treated as simply logical. This

significance is expressed in terms of "twofoldness" (*Zwiefältigkeit*). The "given" (*das Vorliegende*) which forms the object of perception is at the same time independent (*selbstständig*), as the substratum or *hupokeimenon*, and dependent in that it only becomes *ousia* (substance) insofar as it is apprehended as essence (*ti ēn einai*) or form (*eidos*). The latter, too, has no independent existence, but only exists as a part or aspect of a concrete thing (*sūnolon*).

The whole argument is of course much more subtle and complicated than this would suggest. Tugendhat is influenced in the formulation of problems and in the manner of their analysis by Heidegger, and the book will doubtless be most illuminating to those who are familiar with that philosopher's terminology and points of view.

The exposition is closely-reasoned and strenuous throughout. The style is sometimes repetitive, but not verbose. One does not expect such a book to be easy reading, but for German philosophical prose, it is on the clear side.

EDWIN L. MINAR, JR.

DePauw University

**The Origins of Rome**, by RAYMOND BLOCH. Ancient Peoples and Places Series, edited by Glyn Daniel. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960. Pp. 212. \$6.50.

PROFESSOR BLOCH, associated with the *École Française de Rome*, is the author of *The Etruscans*, an earlier volume of this same series. Now in a similar survey he insists that the birth and development of Rome were not unique phenomena, nor did Rome develop "from her semi-legendary beginnings along lines peculiar to herself." We readily concur with this thesis; in the last analysis it was probably Rome's special geographical position, the nexus of ancient forest trails and river routes, which gave her a decisive advantage over other Central Italian towns, most of which shared more or less equally in a common Etrusco-Campanian culture.

After the usual ethnological survey (the Indo-Europeans traversed Italy from east to west, not from north to south), Bloch comes to the Latial Villanovans and their settlements. The Aeneas story is rightly regarded as pure fantasy; its history cannot be very well traced before Timaeus and Cato. Bloch points out that the Aeneas-theme is well known in sixth-century Etruria: he cites the Veii terracottas, the Etruscan scarab in Paris and the five or more Greek vases

found in Etruria, all of which show the flight of Aeneas, though not his arrival in Italy or elsewhere. Bloch seems to think that this and kindred myths were "stimulated" by the Venetian and Latin place-name *Troia*, but surely it is the other way about.

Equally unprofitable is the story of the eponym Romulus, though the Varronian date of 753 B.C. for the foundation of Rome now seems very near the truth. Was Alba really the mother of Rome? Bloch says nothing about this. The myth of the twins seems to have been officially recognized in 296 B.C. when the Ogulnii brothers as curule aediles set up the bronze wolf, but Etruscan art work shows the story is much older and is perhaps not restricted to Rome. Bloch is absolutely right when he says it was characteristic of the Roman mind to transpose myth into pseudo-history. He attempts to identify certain figures of Indo-European myth who have been reworked into figures of early Roman history, but his examples do not seem to be very well chosen. We advise Professor Bloch to turn his attention to the mythology of the Near-East; Romulus is more like Sargon of Akkad or Moses than like Varuna, Uranus or Odin! We approve on principle Bloch's attempt to avoid the hypercriticism of Ettore Pais, but there is no magic way to separate fact from fancy, and accurate records of early Rome, if there were ever such, may have perished in the fire of 390 B.C.

Clearly presented are the excavations of Boni, Valieri and others which have laid bare hut-foundations beneath the Palace of the Flavians and beside the Temple of Cybele; more recently the existence of such huts has been detected in the Forum itself. From post holes and other cuttings in the tufa, it has been possible to reconstruct the late Southern Villanovan wattle-and-daub hut, the original atrium with gable and thatched roof, a type exemplified in the huts of the Forum, the Alban Hills and elsewhere. Such was the Hut of Romulus, piously preserved to the last days of the Roman Empire.

The date of the settlement depends upon that of its cemetery in the Forum below. Since the days of Randall-McIver there has been a tendency to reduce dates. Bloch is following the recent work of E. Gjerstad, S. M. Puglisi, P. Romanelli and others. The pit-tombs (cremation) and the trench-tombs (inhumation), since they intersect each other and contain similar pottery and fibulae, must be regarded as synchronous; they must begin with the latter half of the eighth century, though one dolio-grave near the Arch of Augustus is manifestly older.

Some burials have been found on the Palatine itself, the one near the House of Livia being definitely that of an adult; Bloch points out that the taboo against burial within the city evidently did not obtain at this early date (the *suggrundaria* of children being quite another matter). We suggest, however, that the Cermalus and Palatum formed separate villages, burial being permissible between them. Bloch sensibly still adheres to the assumption seemingly proved elsewhere that the cremators are Latins, the inhumators Sabines, despite a similar co-existence of the two burial rites in the Esquiline and Quirinal cemeteries of similar date.

After a period of depression during the early seventh century, there ensued a prosperous period of oak-tree burial. Huts began to encroach upon the Forum ca. 670/660 where later stood the Temple of Caesar and the Arch of Augustus. After a destructive flood of about 625, a drain in anticipation of the Cloaca Maxima was built, and the settlement expanded through the Forum until about 660/575 when the hut-form was generally abandoned. These observations are used by Bloch to fix the date of the Septimontium, which takes no account of the Forum as an inhabited district, as prior to 670 or 660 B.C.

Graves and *favissae* after about 650 show the increasing intrusion of Etruscan and Greek wares, but this rich profusion of imported pottery is especially to be noticed between ca. 550 and 480/475. These ceramically-established dates must delimit the Etruscan occupation of Rome, traditionally 616-510. We were amused to see that Bloch links the appearance in Etruria and Latium of the Proto-Corinthian *aryballo* with the traditional migration from Corinth to Tarquinia of Demaratus, father of the elder Tarquin. Buccero and Italo-Corinthian give way before the Attic imports, but the splendor of Etruscan Rome is also seen in the terracottas from temples on the Quirinal, Capitol and in the Forum Boarium beside S. Omobono. Inscribed vases demonstrate the use of the Etruscan language at Rome. The *cappellaccio* parts of the "Servian" wall date from this period. One wishes that Bloch had done more with the great temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus.

For some reason Bloch prefers a date of 450 B.C. for the Etruscan evacuation of Rome; on his own evidence 475 would be more reasonable, for this is when the Attic pottery ends, the terracottas also. Apparently he is deferring to Varro's sum of 106 years as the time of the Etruscan domination and has simply rounded this off to a

century. It might be suggested to Professor Bloch that there is possibly some relation between the Battle of Cumae in 474 and the end of the fine pottery in Rome about 475; no doubt at this point the Etruscans abandoned most of the Campagna except Capua. Bloch has some interesting theories. He thinks that the Etruscans of Rome joined in overthrowing the Tarquins, since kings were being discarded everywhere; remembering the Servian reforms, he thinks the Etruscans "supported the plebs against the proprietors of Latin stock." His belief in an early plebeian consulship seems especially dubious. It is, of course, possible that some Etruscans remained behind (cf. the *Vicus Tuscus*) to be assimilated in one way or another. We simply do not know what happened. Of the Etruscan kings of Rome we have as yet no archaeological information except the François tomb paintings showing the defeat of Cneve Tarchunies Rumach (Gnaeus Tarquinius of Rome) by Maestra and the Vipinas brothers.

The expulsion of the Tarquins was followed by a long period of poverty and what seems to be political oblivion. "Art and luxury were not to reappear for a considerable time. Yet when conservative Romans like Cato expressed their horror at the influx into Rome of luxurious habits learned from the east, they forgot that several centuries earlier their ancestors had also eaten off gold and silver dishes."

The book concludes with a section on language, law and religion; there is nothing much new here except a reproduction of the new Lavinium inscription, a dedication to Castor and Pollux, which is unfortunately printed upside down. This inscription seems quite as old as that of the Lapis Niger stele. Bloch is sympathetic toward Mrs. Holland's interpretation of the Capestrano Warrior as a *devotus*. The illustrations are generally good, but a few are irrelevant to the text. A selective bibliography with remarks and then a glossary of terms show that this book is intended for the general reader.

T. T. DUKE

*University of Akron*

#### BRIEF NOTICES

**The Complete Greek Tragedies**, edited by DAVID GRENE and RICHMOND LATTIMORE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959. 4 vols.: I, Aeschylus, pp. viii, 351; II, Soph-

ocles, pp. 460; III-IV, Euripides, pp. x, 661; vi, 616. \$20.00.

Many of the individual translations in this handsomely boxed set have been reviewed in *CJ* already (50 [1954] 46-47; 53 [1957] 41-42; 54 [1959] 282-84; 55 [1960] 278-79) so our readers in general know what to expect. Besides the two editors, who contribute respectively six and seven translations, the chief translator is W. Arrowsmith (five plays of Euripides). Elizabeth Wyckoff and Seth F. Bernardete contribute two each, and eleven other translators (perhaps from a desire for speed in completing the series) are represented by one play each. The set is now ready to compete on its merits (e.g., "modernity") with at least the tragedy portion of Random House's *Complete Greek Drama*.

**Thomas Hobbes' Translation of Thucydides**, edited by DAVID GREENE. 2 vols. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959. Pp. xx, 590. \$6.95.

This reprint of Hobbes' 17th-century translation is offered because, as the editor states, "it is by long odds the greatest translation of Thucydides in English and Thucydides is a historian with a terribly immediate meaning for us today."

**Homerica Greek**, by CLYDE PHARR. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. Pp. xlii, 391.

Though called a new edition, what we have seems to be in fact an unchanged reprint of this good old elementary book. The citation of rare late Ionic principal parts instead of common Attic ones (where none occurs in Homer) remains in the vocabularies, a puzzling perversity.

**Religion in Greece and Rome**, by H. J. ROSE. Harper Torchbooks TB 53. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959. Pp. xiv, 312. \$1.60.

This is a one-volume reprint of Rose's two short books, *Ancient Greek Religion* (1946) and *Ancient Roman Religion* (1948), with a new five-page introduction by the author. A great deal of useful material is available here.

**Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt**, by J. H. BREASTED. Harper Torchbooks TB 57. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959. Pp. xxiv, 379. \$1.95.

This is an unaltered reprint of this old standby, originally published in 1912.

**Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Volume 64**. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. 262.

This volume contains only one purely literary contribution (Zeph Stewart on the Sixth Eclogue) — though C. P. Segal on the "Problem of Cultural Decline in the *De Sublimitate*" is partially so — and one philosophical article (W. G. Runciman on "Plato's Parmenides"). There are two properly historical articles (Ronald Syme on "Livy and Augustus," and Mary Rosenthal Lefkowitz on "Pyrrhus' Negotiations with the Romans, 280-278 B.C.") and four archeological studies, of which J. B. Ward-Perkins on "The Problem of Etruscan Origins" has most interest for the general reader. Two are on material in the McDonald Collection, Anne Bromberg writing about a Phlyax vase and D. G. Mitten on ancient lamps. The remaining paper is Ramsay MacMullen, "Roman Imperial Building in the Provinces." The volume is closed by a summary of a paleographical thesis, Father James Aloysius Patrick Byrne on "Codices Recentiores of Aristotle's Metaphysics."

**Greek Literature for the Modern Reader**, by H. C. BALDRY. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959. Pp. ix, 321. \$1.95.

This is a paperback reprint of the 1951 edition.

**Founding of the Roman Empire**, by FRANK BURR MARSH. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1959.

**The Reign of Tiberius**, by FRANK BURR MARSH. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1959.

These two excellent books by Marsh, long out of print, are a valuable addition to the series of reprints which Barnes and Noble are making available to classical scholars today. Both were originally published by Heffer, the first in 1927, the second in 1931.

#### ANNOUNCEMENTS

PROFESSOR GRAVES THOMPSON of Hampden-Sydney College had to relinquish the editorship of *We See by the Papers*. We thank him for the liveliness and interest which he has provided so steadily; the Editor is especially grateful for his careful editorial work. We now welcome his successor, Pro-

fessor Richard M. Frazer, Jr. of Tulane University, who will be glad to receive suggested items.

**PHI BETA KAPPA** announces that the 1961 Sibley Fellowship will be for the study of Greek language, literature, history, or archeology. Candidates must be unmarried women between 25 and 35 years of age who have demonstrated ability for original research; they must hold the doctorate or have fulfilled all the requirements except the dissertation. The award has a stipend of \$3,500. Applications must be filed before February 1. Forms may be obtained from The Sibley Fellowship Committee, Phi Beta Kappa, 1811 Q St., N. W., Washington 9, D.C.

A MODERN GREEK-ENGLISH DICTIONARY (demotic) has been undertaken, with Professor D. J. Georgacas of the University of North Dakota as director. The collaboration of colleagues is welcomed. Professor Georgacas' address: 2 Georgiou Vendiri St., Filothei, Athens, Greece.

**ETA SIGMA PHI** announces two scholarships for summer study, 1961. The scholarship to the American Academy in Rome will amount to \$450. The scholarship to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens will have a value of \$550. Eligible are Eta Sigma Phi alumni who have received a Bachelor's degree since January 1, 1956, or will have received it before June, 1961, and who do

not have the doctoral degree. Inquiries should be addressed to Professor H. R. Butts, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham 4, Alabama. Applications must be submitted by January 31, 1961.

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA** will conduct the fourth consecutive Summer School of Linguistics next summer, July 3—August 11. Various types of financial aid are available. Direct inquiries to Dr. E. Reinhold, Director, Summer School of Linguistics, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

**THE TENTH SUMMER SEMINAR** in Numismatics will be offered next summer by The American Numismatic Society. Grants-in-aid will be available to students who by June, 1961 will have completed at least one year's graduate study in archeology, Classics, economics, history, history of art, oriental languages, or some other humanistic field. Information and application forms are available from the offices of the Society, Broadway between 155th and 156th Sts., New York 32. Applications for the grants must be filed by March 1.

**THE GENERAL COMMITTEE** of the Chandler Rathfon Post Memorial is raising a fund to establish a memorial fellowship at Harvard. Contributions should be drawn to the Chandler Post Memorial Fund and mailed to Fund headquarters at 30 Ipswich St., Boston 15, Mass.

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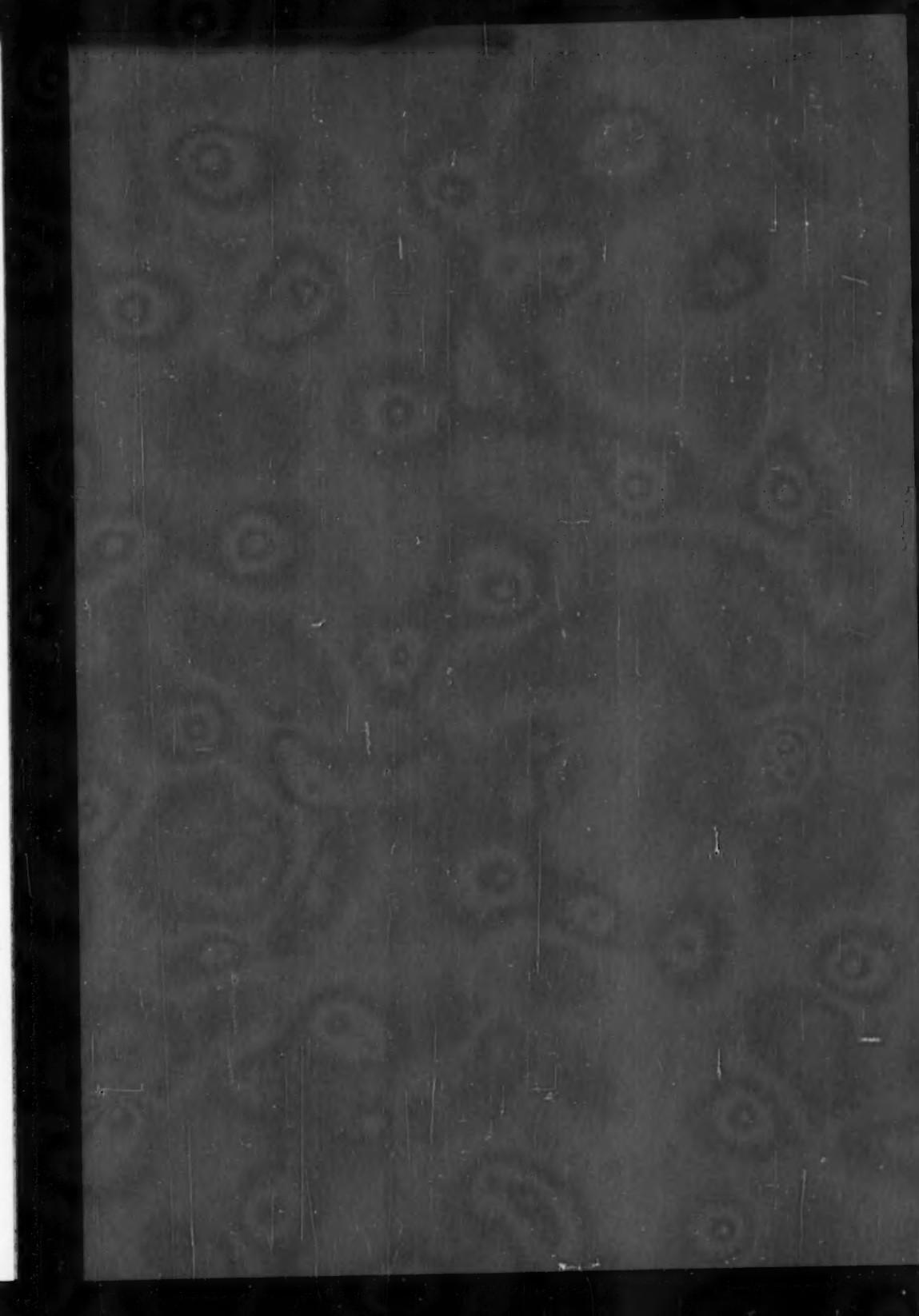
The general price is \$4.25 (U.S.A. and Canada), \$4.50 (foreign). Single copies 65c (U.S.A. and Canada), 70c (foreign); subscriptions for less than a year at the single-copy rate. Subscriptions may be taken through one of the regional associations listed below, annual membership-subscription rate, \$4.25. Members may receive also the *CLASSICAL OUTLOOK* and *CLASSICAL WORLD*; for rates consult the regional secretary-treasurer. Members of CAMWS and CAAS have the option of taking either the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* or *CLASSICAL WORLD*.

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